

AFRICAN STUDIES

(Formerly Bantu Studies)

VOLUME 19, No. 2, 1960

SOME CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE TLHAPING OF THE TAUNG RESERVE¹

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At the time of early European contacts with the Bantu, the Tlhaping, then living in the neighbourhood of Kuruman, were the southernmost representatives of the Tswana cluster of tribes. At Kuruman the name of the well-known Robert Moffat of the London Missionary Society became intimately connected with the tribe. Subsequently the Tlhaping split into several sections, of which the Tlhaping of Taung are the most important group at present.² The Taung reserve itself—there are several smaller reserves, usually referred to as the Barkly West reserves, in the Taung district—includes two Tlhaping chiefdoms, viz. Phuduhutswana and Maidi. The population of the Phuduhutswana chiefdom, estimated at 31,000 in 1953³, constitutes about two-thirds of that of the reserve, and the material presented here refers exclusively to it.

Field methods included a census and small-scale socio-economic survey conducted in

two sample areas during September to November, 1953: one at Taung village where there was formerly a large town with a considerable population, and where remnants of the traditional Tswana pattern of territorial grouping still persist; the other at Mokgareng, representative of conditions under which the majority of the population are settled to-day. At Taung the sample included 42 homesteads with a total population of 255, at Mokgareng there were 21 homesteads with a population of 143. Labour migrants keeping touch with their families in the reserve, and other temporary absentees are included in the population numbers.

In this paper I propose to deal with the subject of change mainly from the angle of some traditional institutions, but it is appreciated that one aspect of the social and cultural change taking place, is the increased diversification within the society as a result of the introduction of churches, schools,

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¹ Research material included in this paper formed part of a thesis submitted to the University of Cape Town in 1955. The original writing up was supervised by Professor Monica Wilson and Dr John Middleton, to whom I am greatly indebted for their valuable comments and criticism at the time. As the presentation has been changed somewhat, they should not be held responsible for shortcomings in this paper. I would also like to thank Mr A. A. Dubb of Rhodes University Institute of Social and Economic Research for reading the final draft, and for his useful suggestions. The material was collected during two field trips undertaken between September, 1952, and January, 1954, lasting altogether thirteen months. I am indebted to the University of Stellenbosch for a Scholarship, and to the National Council for Social Research for a grant, which made this field work possible.

² For a more detailed account of Tlhaping history, see Language, F. J. "Herkoms en Geskiedenis van die Tlhaping"; *African Studies*, 1, 2, 1942, pp. 115-133.

³ According to the 1951 census the chiefdom had a population of approximately 18,600 (approximate, because one census sub-district included some Maidi, whose number had to be estimated), but this figure is generally regarded as much too low. Following a method of estimating the population used by the Native Affairs Department, i.e. by multiplying the number of tax-payers in the area by $4\frac{1}{4}$ (cf. Breutz, P. L., *The Tribes of the Marico District*, Department of Native Affairs, Ethnological Publications, No. 30, Government Printer, Pretoria, 1953-4) one arrives at the figure of 30,970 (7,287 tax-payers in 1953). In two sample areas investigated in the Phuduhutswana chiefdom the total population was 4.28 times the number of males of eighteen years and older, i.e. those required to pay tax.

hospitals, a number of voluntary associations, trading stores, and the representatives of European rule.

TERRITORIAL AND POLITICAL GROUPINGS

A characteristic of Tswana social structure still encountered among many tribes at the present time, is the tendency to congregate in large towns. Such towns are divided into wards—sometimes also sub-wards—each ward consisting for the most part of patrilineal kinsmen. In many cases the majority of the tribe is concentrated in a large capital, the rest of the people living in a number of outlying villages.⁴ While this is not the pattern in Taung to-day, it is clear that the Tlhaping used to follow it in the past. Reports about the tribe during their sojourn in the Kuruman area, relate that they lived together in considerable numbers, and that the town was divided into a number of sections, for which Campbell already used the term 'wards'.⁵ From reports of present-day informants, both native and European, it is evident that this also used to be the situation at Taung.

The extensive powers, elevated status, and unifying influence that used to be⁶ associated with Tswana chieftainship, have been described by Professor Schapera. Besides holding the most important position in the political hierarchy, the chief used to fulfil important military, economic, and religious functions. In the field of religion one of his responsibilities was to see that the rain-making ritual was performed. He was considered to be the link between his people and the spirits of deceased chiefs who still influenced the welfare of the tribe after their death, and great reverence was shown to him on account of his role as "tribal priest".⁷

In the administration of his followers the chief was assisted by ward headmen who

were responsible for the administration of their respective wards. The position of a ward headman was hereditary, and he was by descent the senior member of the patrilineal group forming the ward. The powers of the chief were limited by a system of counselling, in which a council (*sekhudutamaga*) consisting mainly of the ward heads was of major importance. In the general tribal assemblies, all the adult male members of the tribe had a right to voice their opinion. Besides the council of ward headmen, the chief had a small number of specially trusted advisers whom he could consult individually or as a group.⁸

In the Phuduhutswana chiefdom of Taung many features of this typically Tswana pattern have largely disappeared. The chiefdom is no longer politically independent. European rule has placed certain formal checks on the chief's authority.⁹ A recent example is furnished by the transfer of 12,000 morgen of tribal land from the chief's jurisdiction to the control of the South African Native Trust for the development of an irrigation scheme. In practice this means that the chief has lost almost all control of arable land, whereby his subjects have become economically much less dependent on him than formerly. His prestige is further undermined by the fact that different stages of agricultural activities are no longer initiated by him, but by officials of the Trust. Moreover, since kaffir corn, which was the most important crop from which tribute used to be given to the chief, may not be cultivated on the irrigated lands, he is now deprived of most of such tribute.

Besides such formal checks accompanying European rule, the chief's authority is further undermined by various changed and changing conditions, some of which will emerge from the discussions that follow, so that the

⁴ Schapera, I., *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom*, Oxford University Press, 1938 (Second Edition 1955), pp. 8, 19-24, and *The Tswana*, International African Institute, London, pp. 35 ff., 46.

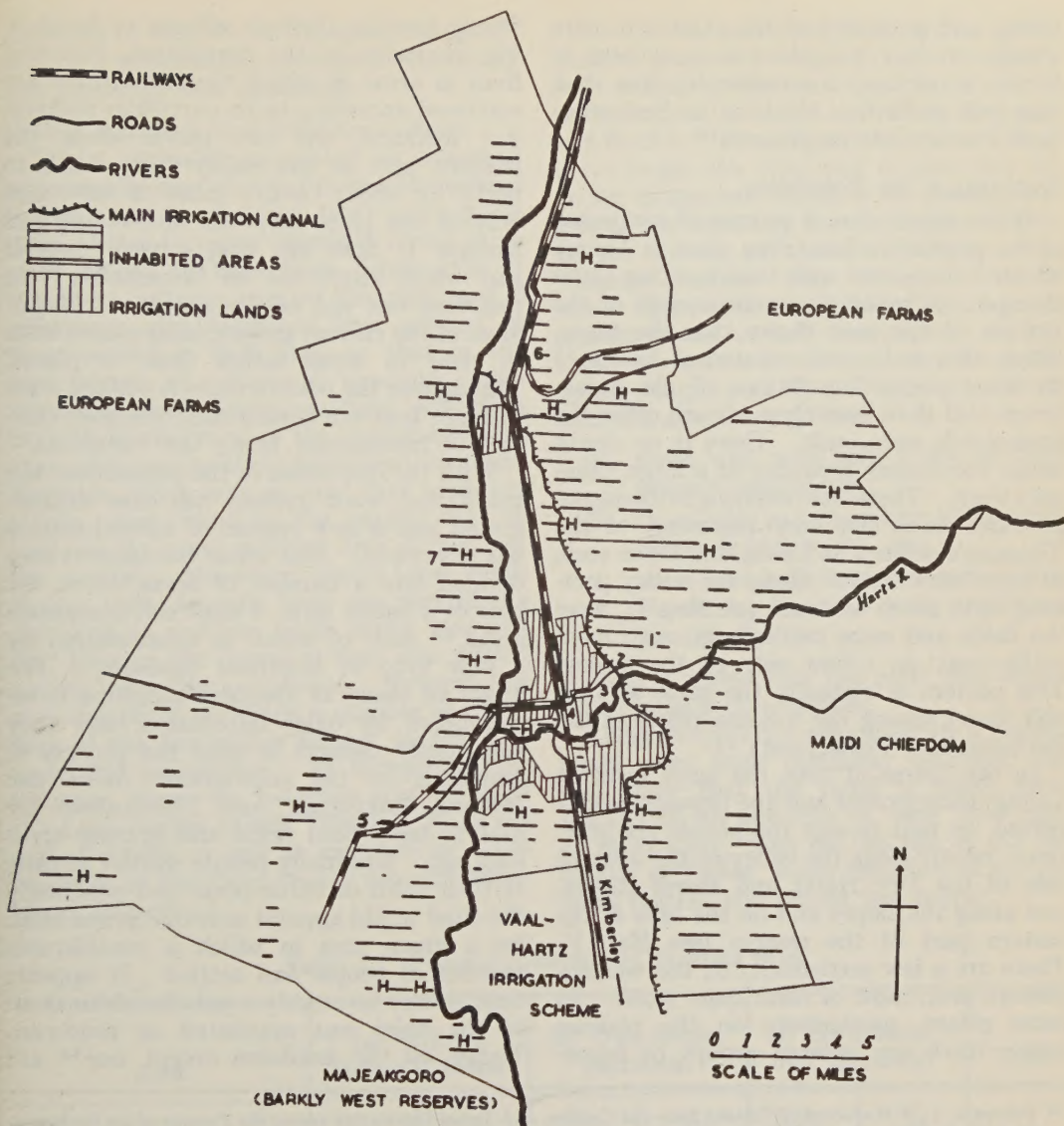
⁵ Campbell, John, *Travels in South Africa . . . being a Narrative of a Second Journey*. London, 1882. Vol. II, pp. 152-4.

⁶ Much of what follows is still applicable to some of the Tswana tribes in the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

⁷ Schapera, I., *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom*, p. 71.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 75 ff.

⁹ Cf. British Bechuanaland Proclamation, No. 2 of 1885, of which sections 8-11, 41, 44, 48 and 50 were still in force in 1953.



MAP I: PHUDUHUTSWANA CHIEFDOM OF THE TAUNG RESERVE.

KEY TO MAP I:

- H. Headman's place (i.e. chief's headman).
- 1. Chief's place.
- 2. Native Commissioner's office and European village.
- 3. Irrigation scheme depot and government officials' dwellings.
- 4. Taung Station.
- 5. Buxton (Norlim): lime mine with European settlement.
- 6. Pudimoe railway junction.
- 7. Mokgareng.

status and authority of the chief is a mere vestige of what it appears to have been in former times, and is considerably less than that held by Tswana chiefs in the Bechuanaland Protectorate at present.¹⁰

Scattering of the Population

It is evident that a process of scattering of the population has taken place in Taung, which is connected with various other social changes. A tentative reconstruction of the pattern of the past shows that the population used to be concentrated at Taung.¹¹ In some places foundations of old homesteads still show how close to each other the homesteads were built. There is no doubt about the former existence of a large, compact town. There were outlying settlements, probably from the very beginning of the Tlhaping's sojourn at Taung, but these seem to have been small. Along the valley, running from north to south (cf. Map I), were the fields and some cattle-posts, with more cattle-posts on either side of the valley. This pattern is virtually the same as that still found among the Tswana tribes of the Bechuanaland Protectorate.¹²

In the course of time the large town at Taung disintegrated and the population dispersed, so that to-day the people are scattered, mostly along the valley on the western side of the Dry Hartz and Hartz Rivers, and along the slopes and on the hills in the eastern part of the reserve (see Map I). There are a few settlements on the western plateau area, most of them quite small. In some places, particularly on the plateau areas, there are isolated groups of home-

steads forming distinct villages or hamlets. The majority of the population, however, lives in areas in which the homesteads are scattered according to no particular pattern. For instance, one can travel along the western part of the valley from south to north for about twenty miles or more and only at one place (between Mocweding and Mokasa I) does one find a very distinct gap where there are no homesteads. In this area one can hardly speak of villages. Most of the current geographical names seem to refer to areas rather than to places. Throughout the reserve there is usually some distance between homesteads, compact clusters of homesteads being the exception.

With the dispersion of the population, the traditional ward system has also disintegrated and a new system of administration has developed. The whole chiefdom is now divided into a number of areas which, for lack of a better term, I shall call headmen's areas,¹³ each of which is administered by a new type of headman (*kgosana*). The origin of many of the headmanships is remembered by older informants, and they consciously connect it with the process of scattering of the population. Areas like Mokasa, Mokgareng, and Thamasikwa are said to have been fields and grazing areas long ago. Gradually people started settling at their fields or cattle-posts and eventually the chief would appoint someone as headman for a given area in which a considerable number of people had settled. It appears that almost invariably a patrilineal kinsman of the chief was appointed as headman. Today all the headmen except one¹⁴ are

¹⁰ Schapera, I., *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom, and Tribal Legislation among the Tswana of the Bechuanaland Protectorate*. London School of Economics and Political Science. Monographs on Social Anthropology No. 9, 1943.

¹¹ Within the reserve, 'Taung' refers to the chief's place and its immediate environs (see Maps).

¹² Schapera, I., *Native Land Tenure in the Bechuanaland Protectorate*, Lovedale Press, 1943, pp. 23, 128.

¹³ These areas could perhaps also be called wards, but it is necessary to distinguish them from the type of Tswana ward which used to exist among the Tlhaping formerly, and still exists in most other Tswana tribes or chiefdoms. The term "districts" is also a possibility, but its use could cause confusion with the magisterial district. The natives do not use any particular term to denote such an area.

¹⁴ The exception was a man whose paternal grandfather was a Frenchman who settled with the Tlhaping and acted as an adviser to the chief. He married a native woman, and I have a memory of being told that she was a daughter or at least a close patrilineal kinswoman of the chief, but could not find the reference in my notes. The father of the man who is now headman was appointed headman for the particular area after having served the chief as secretary for some time.

members of one of the Tlhaping lineages¹⁵ and their positions are considered hereditary (see genealogy and Appendix).

Chief's Headmen and Headmen's Areas

Those originally appointed as headmen were usually men who had themselves settled in the area or who had their cattle-posts there. Since formerly members of the same ward tended to have their cattle-posts in the same outlying part of the chiefdom it sometimes also happened that several of them settled in that area, so that in the new pattern of settlement headmen sometimes had people living near them, who came from their own ward in the capital and who were also mostly their patrilineal kinsmen. However, there was no rule that members of the same ward in the capital had to settle in the same outlying area if they left the capital. Moreover, people now often change their domicile from one part of the chiefdom to another, while many "foreigners" have in the course of time also settled among the earlier population. Nevertheless one sometimes still finds a number of members of the headman's lineage in the area under his jurisdiction. At Mokgareng, for instance, where the headman is a Thipa of the Lehe lineage of the Tlhaping, there are several Thipa as well as members of other branches of the Lehe lineage near the headman's homestead.

Under the traditional ward system patrilocal residence was the rule, and sons therefore settled in the same wards to which their fathers belonged (although the rule was flexible). Nowadays patrilocal residence is no longer the rule, and a man may set up his homestead wherever he pleases, subject to the chief's or headman's permission. In the survey of the two sample areas, marriage histories were obtained from 82 men. This number included all male heads of homesteads, as well as sons, who were or had been married. There were 46 in the Taung sample and 36 at Mokgareng. These men fall into three groups:

- (a) those who were still living in their father's homesteads;
- (b) those who had their own homesteads beside or near to it; and
- (c) those who had their own homesteads elsewhere, i.e. who were not living patrilocally.

Table I shows how the men were distributed among these groups.

These samples not only illustrate a general trend away from patrilocal residence, but also show that the trend is much more marked in an outlying or 'new' area such as Mokgareng, than on the site of the old capital at Taung, where remnants of the old ward pattern still persist (see below).

Table I: Place of Residence of Married Men.

Area	(a) Still in Father's house		(b) Own house, patrilocal		(c) Own house, not patrilocal		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Taung	5	10.9	22	47.8	19	41.3	46
Mokgareng	2	5.6	4	11.2	30	83.3	36
TOTAL	7	8.5	26	31.7	49	59.8	82

¹⁵ Members of the Tlhaping patrilineal descent group, within which different groupings and sub-divisions of lineages may be discerned, count for the nucleus of the chiefdom, but the majority of the population is not Tlhaping by descent, although all are referred to as Tlhaping in a 'political' sense. (See the following section.)

Along with other factors mentioned above, this trend away from patrilocality contributes to the ethnic heterogeneity of the population of a given area. Even if there is a nucleus of the headman's patrilineal kinsmen in this area, they form only a small proportion of the whole population.

The number of headmen's areas and the boundaries between them are not rigidly fixed. New headmanships may be created and rearrangements of boundaries have taken place from time to time. There are at present eighteen of these headmen's areas, so that the average population per area would be over 1,700. The available evidence suggests that there were many more than eighteen wards in the old capital at Taung, while among Tswana tribes of the Protectorate the wards are also much smaller population units than the headmen's areas in the Taung Reserve.¹⁶

It is evident from the foregoing that the population of a headman's area lacks the closely-knit structure of the traditional ward. About the only tie between the inhabitants of a headman's area is their common allegiance to the same headman.

At the site of the old capital the homesteads are also relatively scattered, but in many places, ruins and the foundations of former homesteads can be seen in the open spaces. Some of the present homesteads are inhabited by newcomers, but many families can be traced back to the patrilineal kinship groups which used to con-

stitute the old wards. In some cases a single family is all that remains of such a ward, but in some there are still several patrilineally related men with their families, constituting what I would call a ward remnant. In the case of one or two of these ward remnants the homesteads are still arranged on the traditional pattern, in a semi-circle, facing the common cattle-byre, and in order of seniority.¹⁷

Usually a headman's area is not subdivided, but sometimes a councillor of the headman is made responsible for a certain part of the area. In most cases his responsibility does not exceed having to report to the headman on matters concerning that section. The area in which the chief's *kgotla* is situated, is the only one clearly sub-divided into a number of sub-areas (seven), each under a sub-headman.¹⁸ Some of them do not belong to any of the Tlhaping lineages. Their position does not seem to be hereditary, but one of them who is a member of the chief's lineage, has succeeded his father's younger brother, who held the position after his father's death. This is in keeping with Tswana rules of succession and regency.¹⁹

The present headmen are described as the representatives of the chief in their respective areas. They hold assemblies (*dipitsō*, sing. *pitsō*) with the men of their area, and organise local matters in general. They try minor cases, and impose lesser fines, but cases which are "too difficult" for them are

¹⁶ The majority of Tswana wards contain between 300 and 600 people. (Schapera, *The Tswana*, p. 46). The following statistics show the position in some of the Protectorate tribes:

	Wards	Population
Tawana	40	38,700
Ngwaketse	119	38,600
Kgatla	68	20,100
Maletse	16	9,409

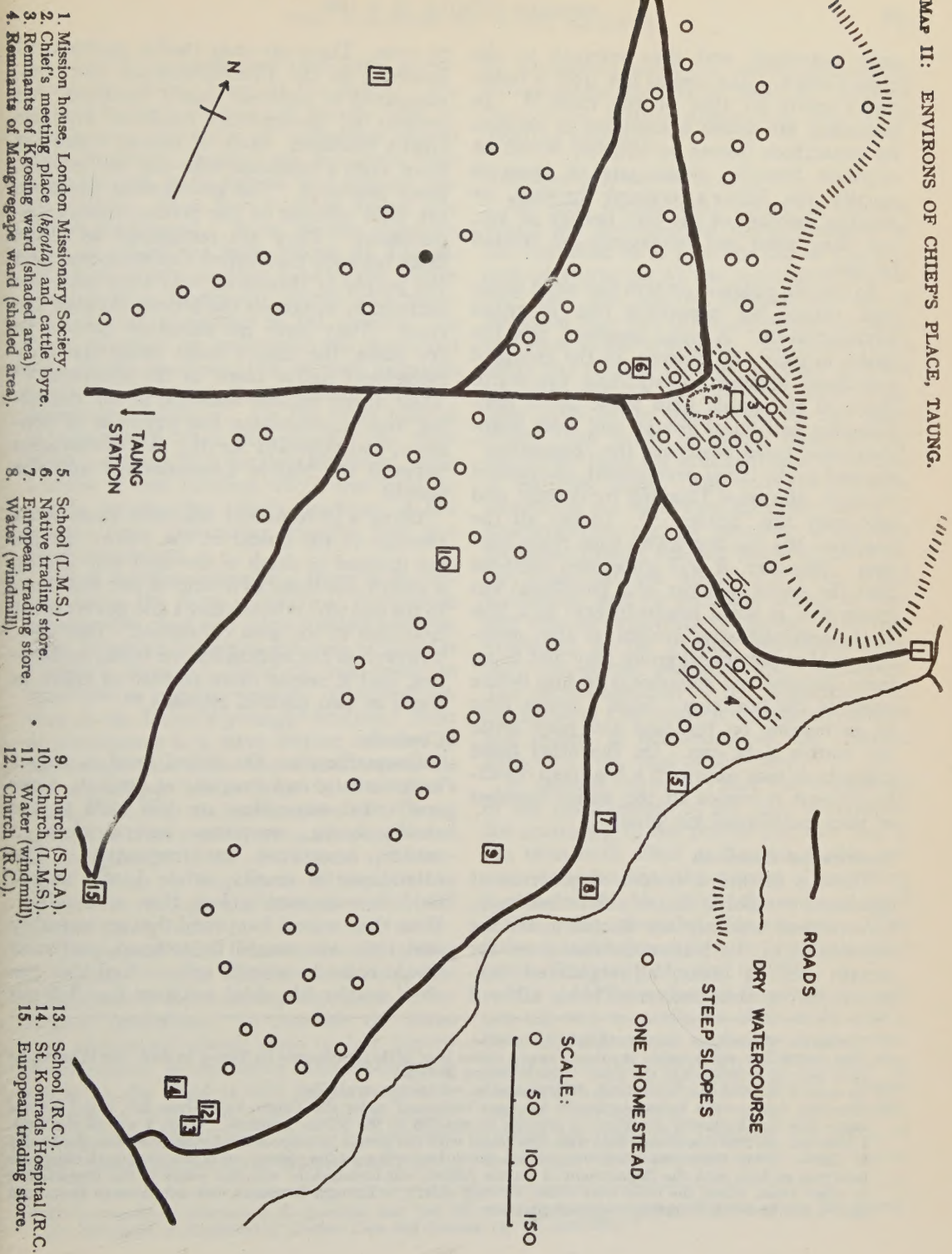
(Extracted from: Schapera, I. *The Ethnic Composition of Tswana Tribes*, London School of Economics and Political Science, Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 11, 1952.)

¹⁷ The best examples of ward remnants are what remains of *kgosing* (the chief's ward) and the Mangwegape ward. (See Map II.)

¹⁸ On some occasions some of these sub-headmen were listed together with the headmen, as if belonging to the same category. There is evidently confusion on this point.

¹⁹ Dr Language (Language, F. J., *Stamregering by die Tlhaping*, Pro-Ecclesia Drukkery, Stellenbosch, 1943) describes a rigidly systematic structure of eleven districts (of which two are outside the reserve) each of them sub-divided into a number of wards ("wyke"). In spite of intensive investigation on this point I could discover no other units in the administration than the headmen's areas, except for the few exceptions mentioned in the text here, and the few ward remnants (old type). Some confusion does arise from the system of government headmen (see below). This might give rise to the idea of the grouping together of a few wards to form a district, but that is not a correct interpretation of the present position.

MAP II: ENVIRONS OF CHIEF'S PLACE, TAUNG.



only examined, and then referred to the chief's court. The appeal lies from a headman's court to that of the chief.²⁰ In executing his duties a headman is assisted by councillors (*banna ba lekgotla*) whom he appoints himself. Often one of these is usually his father's younger brother, or another member of his own lineage or kin, but they need not necessarily be related to him.

In the old political system the ward headmen played an important role in tribal administration. A ward headman was the senior member, by descent, of the group of patrilineal kinsmen constituting the ward. Many of the wards were made up of non-Tlhaping patrilineal groups and their headmen constituted what was the "commoner" element in the tribal government, as opposed to those who were Tlhaping by descent and who were the "nobles".²¹ To-day all the headmen but one are drawn from royal lineages. However, it still sometimes happens that the senior member of a patrilineal kin group who is not a headman acts as a link in the administrative system, in that members of that patrilineal group may first bring their disputes and complaints to him before going to the headmen. Such a senior may sit in hearing on the case and may settle the matter if he can. On the other hand individuals may approach a headman directly without reference to the senior member of their patrilineal kin group.

Government Headmen

There is further a system of government headmen, parallel to that of chief's headmen. Government headmen are elected under the supervision of the Native Commissioner for certain defined areas, all registered taxpayers in the area concerned being allowed

to vote. There are only twelve government headmen in the Phuduhutswana chiefdom, compared to eighteen chief's headmen. At present all government headmen are also chief's headmen, while of course, there are some chief's headmen who are not government headmen. The government headmen are paid officials of the Native Affairs Department. They are recognized as direct links between the Native Commissioner and the people in their area, and they need not necessarily approach the former through the chief. They have no statutory powers to try cases, the chief's court being the only recognized native court in the chiefdom.²² Their duties include assisting in tax collecting and in organizing the payment of pensions, and generally serving as a go-between between the Native Commissioner and the people.

Being a government headman lends some prestige to the holder of the office: people are inclined to think of the man who is only a chief's headman as a kind of sub-headman to the one who is both chief's and government headman in the area concerned. This idea, however, is not upheld by the tribal authorities, and it seems more correct to think in terms of two parallel systems.²³

Councils

Counselling on the tribal level is rather unsystematic and irregular at present. General tribal assemblies are still held at the chief's *kgotla*, sometimes several times a month, sometimes less frequently. The attendance is small: while I was in the field it was usually less than a hundred. More than once it happened that an assembly had been announced beforehand, and men would come to attend, only to find that the chief and/or his chief advisers had left on

²⁰ The courts of headmen are not officially recognized.

²¹ This distinction which exists in other Tswana tribes is of little significance in Taung to-day, but it seems to have been more evident in the past. (See following section.)

²² In spite of this the chief's headmen do try cases, as we have seen above.

²³ Since my field-work a Tribal Authority has been instituted under the Bantu Authorities Act, and I do not know how the Authority functions in practice in relation to the former systems. When I was in the field, I attended the first discussions that were conducted with the people to propose the institution of an Authority to them. It was then stated that the position which had arisen in the reserve, of recognising both chief and headmen as links with the Department of Native Affairs, was inconsistent with the policy of the Department in other areas, where the links were either through chief's or through headmen, but not through both, and that in any case this situation could not continue.

some other business, and that little or nothing was taking place at the *kgotla*. The council of ward headmen of the old type, of which also headmen of commoner wards were members, lingered on for some time after the old ward system had started disintegrating. It is said to have fallen into disuse at present. Some people maintain that its place has been taken by the so-called 'quarterly meeting' held by the Native Commissioner to consult jointly with members of both chiefdoms in the reserve. To these meetings are summoned the chiefs and government headmen, but all male members of both chiefdoms may attend, and are encouraged to do so. On the other hand it is maintained that occasionally the chief holds meetings with his own headmen, while I know of one meeting which was held, to which, besides the chief's headmen, a few leaders from commoner lineages had also been summoned.

What further counselling there is at present takes the form of informal discussions between the chief and a few trusted advisers, most of whom belong to his own or another Tlhaping lineage. They do not seem to constitute a regular council. His chief adviser is his father's younger brother. Next in prominence is a more distant member of his lineage, who is also the official responsible for organising proceedings in the chief's court,²⁴ as well as headman for the Taung area. The chief's secretary, a man appointed on the grounds of his educational qualifications is also an important adviser to the chief, even though the present one is still quite a young man.

The present chief (who is actually acting as regent) is quite illiterate and incapable of adequately representing his people under modern conditions. In practice the three men mentioned above more or less govern the chiefdom. Nevertheless their subordinate status to the chief is still fully recognised.

There is further a Local Council representing both chiefdoms. It is a statutory body, consisting partly of elected and partly

of nominated members, constituted under Proclamation No. 25 of 1940, as provided for by the Native Affairs Act, No. 23 of 1920, as amended.

Relations of Headmen to Chief

We have noticed that one of the changes which has developed in the government of the chiefdom as a concomitant of the process of scattering of the population is that the chief has had to delegate powers to headmen who had to be appointed to different areas of the chiefdom. In former times there was some delegation of power to ward headmen, but for the most part these headmen lived in the same town as the chief, where they could be much more strictly controlled than the headmen now in control of outlying areas. The modern headmen sometimes act with a considerable degree of independence, e.g. by granting newcomers domicile without sending them to the chief, by being careless about attending tribal assemblies, and by generally failing to consult him on important decisions. Remarks overheard in the general assemblies show that the people recognise this themselves. The decentralisation of the population has necessitated a devolution of authority which has meant a weakening of the 'central authority', viz. that of the chief.

It appears, however, that the weakening of the chieftainship is not only a result of the scattering of the population, but that it has been both effect and cause of the process. It seems that the process of scattering became noticeable during the reign of chief Molala, who succeeded Mankurwane. (The latter is still honoured as the last great chief of the Tlhaping. He died in 1892.)

It is said that in former times people were not allowed to settle at their cattle-posts. One old informant explicitly stated that whereas this rule was strictly enforced during the reign of chief Mankurwane, people started disregarding it after his death. During his reign the Tlhaping lost much of their land to Europeans and came under

²⁴ He is sometimes referred to as *rramelao* and has the same position as *ntona ya lekgotla* among the Kgatla. (Cf. Schapera, *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom*, pp. 77, and 283.)

the control of a European government. European rule placed various checks on the authority of the chief, and it is probable that the effect of these measures was not particularly evident while chief Mankurwane still reigned but became more apparent during the reign of his successor and undermined his authority to a greater extent.

Native informants usually held that the people scattered on account of droughts, finding more favourable conditions in the outlying areas. Some even left the reserve altogether and settled on European-owned farms. No doubt such economic factors did play a part in the process of scattering. I suggest, however, that the weakening of the chieftainship facilitated this process. It is also possible that there always used to be people who desired to settle in outlying areas for the sake of greater liberty from the control of the chief. While there were strong chiefs with considerable authority they were able to curb such a tendency, but as the chieftainship weakened, the chiefs could check it no longer. As the process of scattering proceeded it weakened the authority and prestige of the chief still further.²⁵

ETHNIC COMPOSITION, KINSHIP, AND RANK

Professor Schapera has shown that, among the Tswana, political divisions do not altogether coincide with ethnic divisions and kinship groups. The tribe or chiefdom, which is the largest political unit, is ethnically heterogeneous, while even in Bechuanaland "almost every ward now also contains people of alien origin", i.e. alien to the group of agnatic kin forming the nucleus of the ward.²⁶ Nevertheless, kinship does play an important role, both in the political sphere and in personal relations, and the stress is on unilineal descent in the male line. This is likewise the case among the Tlhaping.

The descent name of "Tlhaping" is inherited in the male line, so also the totem, rank, some political offices, and most property. Residence used to be patrilocal and Tlhaping still use the name of father or paternal grandfather as surname.

The ethnic composition of the Tlhaping of Taung follows much the same pattern as that of other Tswana tribes. The nucleus of the chiefdom is made up of people belonging to what is putatively a dispersed unilineal descent group of which all the members are called Tlhaping and have as their totem the koodoo. The chief belongs to this nuclear group. The rest of the chiefdom consists of people who are not Tlhaping by descent, but have in time become attached to the Tlhaping chief. Of the latter group the majority are of Tswana origin. The non-Tswana element contains a considerable number of Cape Nguni (Xhosa-speaking), and also some Southern Sotho and Cape Coloured people. Members of the chiefdom can therefore be classed in three different groups, (a) Tlhaping, (b) Non-Tlhaping but Tswana, and (c) Non-Tswana, of which the "Non-Tlhaping but Tswana" group seems to predominate strongly. Of the 45 male homestead heads in the sample areas surveyed, 13 were Tlhaping, 30 were Non-Tlhaping but Tswana and two were Non-Tswana. In the chiefdom as a whole the numerical strength of the Tlhaping is probably less than in the sample, and that of the Non-Tswana somewhat greater, since the Nguni people are mostly concentrated in a few areas, none of which could be included in the samples.

Totemic Groups

While the chiefdom, then, has only a nucleus of people who are Tlhaping by patrilineal descent, one should keep in mind

²⁵ The Tawana of the Bechuanaland Protectorate also scattered in a similar manner, leaving Maun, the central town in which they were concentrated, to go and settle at their cattle-posts. Dr Ashton, in discussing this process, has pointed out that the Tawana have had a number of weak chiefs who have not been able to prevent the members of the tribe from leaving the capital. He mentions the desire for the greater freedom of life at the cattle-posts as one reason for this process of scattering. (E. H. Ashton, "Notes on the Political and Judicial Organisation of the Tawana," *Bantu Studies*, II, 1937, pp. 67-83.) In their case the typical Tswana ward system, though adapted, has not disappeared to the extent that it has amongst the Tlhaping.

²⁶ Schapera, I. *The Ethnic Composition of Tswana Tribes*. The London School of Economics and Political Science, Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 11, p. 3. Cf. *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom*, p. 20.

that this nuclear group is only a portion of a larger number of people who all claim such descent. The rest are scattered among different chiefdoms, or live in small reserves without chiefs, or on farms, while some have found their way to the towns. Besides a common name and totem, there is little that binds all these Tlhaping together, but they all claim to be related in the male line, and address each other by kinship terms.²⁷

The Tlhaping descent group might be designated a scattered clan,²⁸ but as there are hardly any clearly defined obligations between members of the group it seems better to retain the term "totemic group", which Schapera uses, remembering that different totemic groups sometimes have the same totem.

Although chiefdom and ethnic or kin group are not identical, it is important to remember that the chiefdom is built up around a group of agnatic kinsmen putatively belonging to the same unilineal kinship group, i.e. the totemic group. This group takes precedence in tribal government in that the chief and his closest advisers belong to it, and in that all headmen are drawn from its ranks in the new type of headmanship. The tribal name is also the same as that of the totemic group to which the nuclear stock belongs.

Lineages

The material on the Tswana seems to suggest that formerly the totemic groups were split into corporate lineages, and that the Tswana ward system was based on such a lineage structure, every ward being made up of a separate lineage group. From the description given by my informants of the old wards of Taung, and from my detailed analysis of existing ward remnants, I received the impression that an old type of ward would have included at least the majority of a particular lineage group, besides some other attached persons or groups. The Tlhaping material thus supports Professor Schapera's opinion that "the ward may indeed be regarded as originating in a lineage group . . ."²⁹ With the scattering of the ward, and the rule of patrilocal residence disappearing, the Tlhaping have then come to the final stage in the process of dissolution of the localised lineage.³⁰

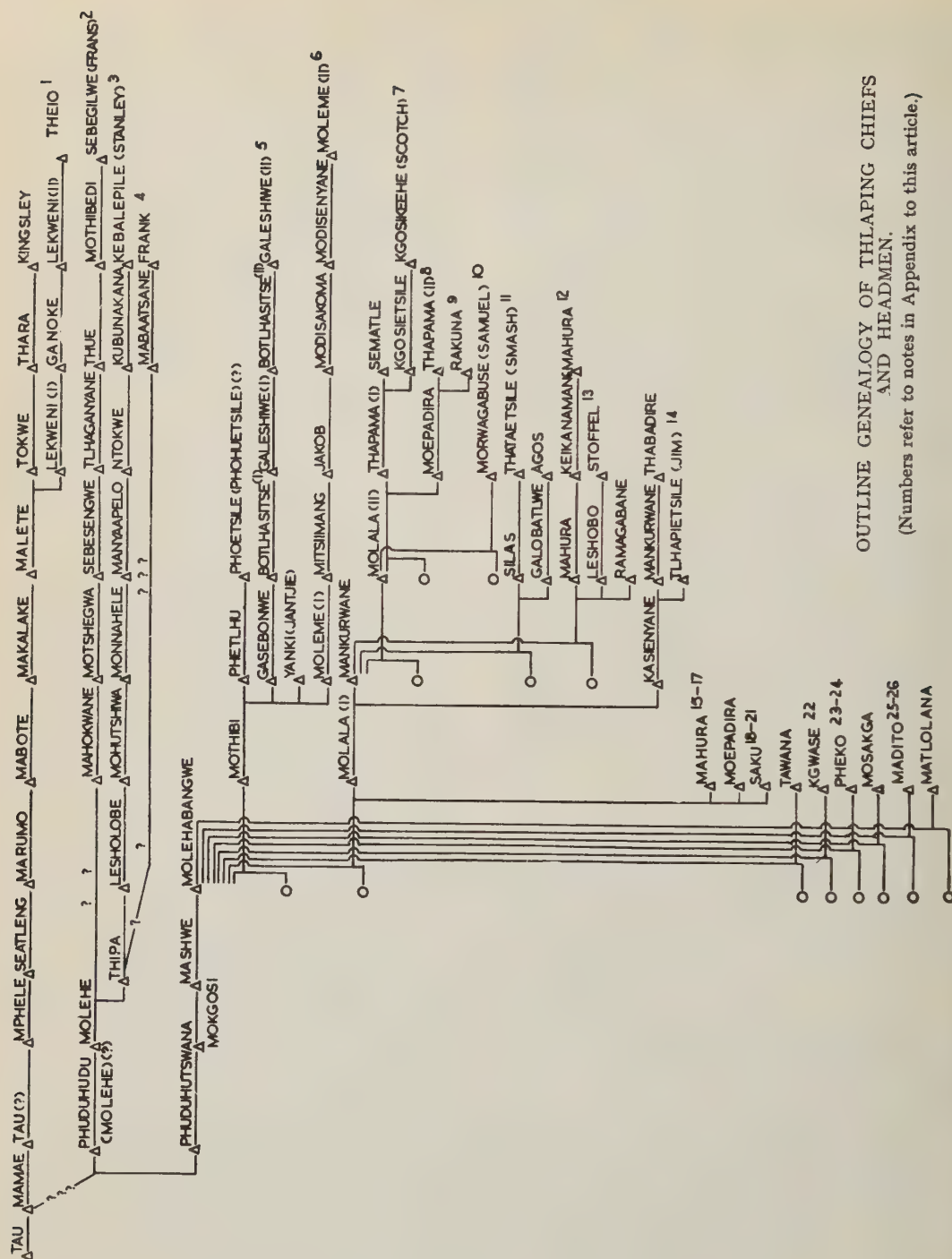
The segmentation of the society into lineages is, however, still evident in other ways. The Tlhaping totemic group (excluding the Maidu) is split up into three clearly distinguished maximal lineages, viz. *Boo-Marumo*, *Balehe* and *Boo-Ramaswe* (see genealogy). Of these the Marumo claim to be the senior lineage by descent, "while it is generally acknowledged that the Lehe are senior to

²⁷ I am doubtful as to the position of the Maidu in this scheme. They are at least held to be related to the Phuduhutswana because, like them, they are an offshoot of the Rolong. Sometimes, however, I came across the opinion that the Maidu were ethnically of Nguni origin.

²⁸ Professor Radcliffe-Brown writes that a clan and a lineage each consist of "a body of persons who are or who regard themselves as being a unilineal body of kindred . . . The distinction between clan and lineage is that in a lineage group each member can actually, or at least theoretically, trace his genealogical connection with any other member by descent from a known common ancestor, whereas in a clan, which is usually a larger body, this is not possible." He also defines the clan as "a group having unilineal descent in which all the members regard one another as in some specific sense kinsfolk," and adds that "one way of giving recognition to the kinship is by the extensive use of the classificatory terminology." (Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. and Daryll Forde, *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*. O.U.P. for International African Institute, 1950, pp. 39, 40.)

²⁹ Schapera, I. "The Social Structure of the Tswana Ward," *Bantu Studies*, 9, 1935, pp. 203-224.

³⁰ Professor Meyer Fortes has pointed out that in Africa lineage organisation is most strongly developed in segmentary societies. It is not restricted to these societies, but "the more centralised the political system the greater the tendency seems to be for the corporate strength of descent groups to be reduced or for such corporate groups to be non-existent." The Tswana material seems to suggest that they did have corporate lineages in the past. It is possible that the weakening of the corporate strength of the lineage was a concomitant of the development of strongly centralised government which is typical of the Tswana. Among the Tlhaping the process has progressed further than among the other Tswana, because of the general disintegration of traditional patterns of life. (Cf. in this connection that Prof. Fortes points out that it seems that corporate descent groups can exist only in more or less homogeneous societies. Under modern conditions the Tlhaping have become much more heterogeneous than they used to be. (Meyer Fortes, "The Structure of Unilateral Descent Groups", *American Anthropologist*, 55, 1, Jan.-March, 1953, pp. 17-41.)



OUTLINE GENEALOGY OF THLAPING CHIEFS AND HEADMEN.

(Numbers refer to notes in Appendix to this article.)

the Ramaswe. Nevertheless the Ramaswe hold the chieftainship. The Marumo say that they are exempt from the duty of assisting in repairing the chief's cattle byre at the tribal headquarters, and regard this as proof of their seniority. They explain the passing of the chieftainship from their lineage to their juniors by relating that a certain Seatleng (see genealogy) who was the chief, or heir to the chieftainship, was of a vicious disposition. (The name of his son, Marumo, meaning assegais, reminds one of this.) Through fear the people deserted Seatleng, whereupon he agreed that the others could govern the tribe, on condition that they should pay him the customary tax and tribute.

The Lehe and Ramaswe lineages respectively trace their origin to Phuduhudu and his younger brother Phuduhutswana. Phuduhudu again, lost the chieftainship through laziness. Instead of attending to business, so the tradition goes, he used to while away his time, sitting in the sun, sending the people to Phuduhutswana with whatever matters they brought to him. In the end Phuduhutswana completely usurped the chieftainship from Phuduhudu.³¹ Because of their genealogical seniority, however, the Lehe are still exempted from the duty of ploughing the chief's lands. Phuduhudu was either himself known as Molehe or was the father of M'lehe (hence the lineage name *Balehe*). M'swe was a chief of the Phuduhutswana line, some generations subsequent to Phuduhutswana. These three maximal lineages each have a depth of at least eight or nine generations. Not many people know their genealogies far enough back to trace their connection with the founder of their lineage, but there are some who are able to do so, albeit with the help of Wookey's *Dico tsa Secwana*.³² It must also be mentioned that there is a further segmentation

of the maximal lineages into different branches.

The Non-Tlhaping but Tswana group in the chieftom are of course made up of members of numerous different lineages which form segments of other Tswana totemic groups.

The term *losika* (which may mean a vein, an artery, or a sinew)³³ which is used to denote a unilineal kin group of any degree is very aptly suggestive of such important aspects of a unilineal kinship system as the continuity of the lineage and its tendency to form new branches. Thus, when asked to which *losika* he belongs, a man may answer that he is a Tlhaping (i.e. his totemic group), or that he is a Lehe (i.e. his maximal lineage), or that he is a Thipa (one of the branches of the Lehe lineage). Or another—to take an example from a Non-Tlhaping lineage—would say: 'I belong to *losika* of Mangwegape, of Monnaunwa, of Thaba'—the Mangwegape being a branch of the Monnaunwa segment of the Thaba lineage, which to-day is regarded as Rolong, although the founder, Thaba, is said to have been a Nguni immigrant.

Sometimes the term *lekgotla*, which is used amongst others to designate the old type of ward, is used interchangeably for *losika*. This also suggests a former close connection between lineage and ward.

*Initiation*³⁴

When a general tribal initiation is held, initiation camps are built in different parts of the chieftom—usually three camps. Each is attended by boys from the area in which it is situated. Within each area the boys first congregate in patrilineal groups, each group at the *kgotla* or homestead of the senior member (by descent) of their particular group. Whether the group merely consists of members of the same totemic group, or

³¹ This narrative is also given in Wookey, A. J., *Dinwao leha e le Dipolelo kaga Dico tsa Secwana*, L.M.S., Vryburg (Tiger Kloof), Ninth Ed., 1951. (First Ed. 1913), (p. 23)—a book which is widely read among the Tlhaping.

³² I must add that all informants do not agree in the genealogies they give. The fact that Wookey gives various differing genealogies no doubt contributes to the present confusion.

³³ Brown, J. Tom, *Secwana-English Dictionary*.

³⁴ For a description of Tlhaping initiation ceremonies (*bogwera*), see Language, F. J., "Die bogwera van die Tlhaping," *Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns*, 4, 2, 1943, pp. 110-134.

whether they all belong to a particular lineage, depends upon the numerical strength of their own lineage in the area.

In the initiation lodge the boys live in different huts, grouped according to their totemic groups. Within their own totemic group they are again grouped according to lineages. In their seating and sleeping arrangements the boys of the same lineage follow the order of their relative status by birth, the same principle being followed in the positions taken by respective lineages in the same hut and in the placing of the huts.

Present Trends in the Kinship System

In other aspects of the kinship system the Tlhaping broadly follow the same pattern as that described by Schapera for the Protectorate tribes.³⁵ A wide range of kinship relations is still recognised and many people are addressed as kinsmen even when the exact genealogical connections are not known. On important occasions, such as weddings, funerals and "bringing out" of new-born babies and their mothers, members of a household are usually assisted by their kinsmen. On the whole this assistance is of a general nature and there is usually no rigid scheme according to which specific duties are performed by particular persons by virtue of their particular kinship relationship. Friends and neighbours who are not

kinsmen also assist on such occasions. Although the old ward system has disintegrated, it happens quite often that a person has a number of kinsmen living in his own neighbourhood. However, neither the grouping of the homesteads of such kinsmen nor the types of kinship relations found between them follow any regular pattern, except at Taung where remnants of old wards still exist.

It can safely be said that there is a general weakening of the sense of obligation toward kinsmen. The growth of individualism, fostered by the introduction of a money economy and the possibilities of economic independence offered by migrant labour, has no doubt contributed to the weakening of kinship ties. The weakening, particularly of patrilineal ties, also seems to be a concomitant of the disintegration of the ward system. Under the traditional system a married man usually lived in the same ward as many of his patrilineal kinsmen, particularly his siblings and father's brothers. They were the people with whom he co-operated in economic undertakings, ritual and legal actions. However, now that these kinsmen are scattered, much of this former co-operation has necessarily been terminated and it is quite clear that the relations between siblings, and between men and their fathers' brothers are not as close as they used to be.³⁶ More-

³⁵ Schapera, I. "Kinship and Marriage among the Tswana" in A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde, *African systems, of Kinship and Marriage*, Oxford University Press, 1950, and *The Tswana*. Tlhaping kinship terminology for cognates only differs from that given by Prof. Schapera (*The Tswana*, pp. 43-44) in that the term *monna*—(not listed by him) in its compound forms (e.g. *monnao*, *monnawê*, etc.) is used among the Tlhaping in referring to *another person's* younger sibling of the same sex as he or she. *Nnakê* seems to be exclusively used by a person speaking of or to *his own* younger sibling of the same sex. Similarly *mogolo* in its compound forms (*mogoloo*, *mogolowê*, etc.) tends to be used in referring to *another person's* elder siblings (same sex), whereas *nggonne* is used only by a person in speaking of or to *his own* elder siblings. I have heard the terms *mogolo*- (or *nggonne*) and *monna*- (or *nnakê*) applied to siblings of opposite sex but this is not common. Some of the variant forms such as *niak* (and its compound forms), for father, *nkoko*, grandmother and *m.o.s.i.*, *mmame*, *m.y.s.i.*, and *motsuala*, cross-cousin are not used by the Tlhaping. My material on terms for affines is incomplete, but it shows that the terms *mogwê* (pl. *bagwê*) and *mogogadi* (pl. *bagogadi*, cf. Schapera *mogwagadi*) are applied to a wider range of relationships than among the other Tswana. The term *mogogadi* is applied to w.f., w.m., and wife's siblings; to B.w. (m.s.), to S.w.F. and S.w.m. *Mogwê* is applied to d.H., d.H.F., d.H.m. A woman addresses both her husband's father and mother as *maitsala* and they address her as *ngwetsi*. I suggest that the tendency is to call most of those affines to whom one is linked by the marriage of one's own cognatic male kinsmen *bagogadi* (as the individual male calls his wife's siblings and parents), while *bagwê* tends to be used for affines with whom one is connected by marriages of one's female cognates (cf. Sandilands, A. *Introduction to Tswana*, L.M.S., Tigerkloof, 1953. pp. 335-336.)

³⁶ My attempts at finding evidence among the Tlhaping for the existence of the custom of linking of siblings so typical of the Tswana (Schapera, *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom*, p. 186, "Kinship and Marriage among the Tswana" in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, pp. 142-143), met with little success. I cannot say whether this is connected with the general weakening of kinship ties, or whether the custom was always less common among the Tlhaping than among the tribes further north.

over, now that patrilineal kinsmen do not live together, can be economically independent, and do not co-operate in as many activities as formerly, authority and differences in status based on genealogical relations in the male line, are less important. With reference to the scattering of the members of his lineage who were also members of the same ward, an old informant said: "The law is destroyed . . . There are new laws according to which a man does not know his younger brother, and a man does not know his elder brother."

There is one type of relationship which is still of particular importance, viz. that between mother's brother and sister's son. Not only do they regularly assist one another, but on occasions such as marriage and death there are specified reciprocal gifts,³⁷ duties and prerogatives. The consent of a young couple's maternal uncles is still regarded as indispensable to marriage by some people.

The continued importance of this relationship even under modern conditions may at least partly be related to the process of scattering and the manner in which it has changed the spatial relations between kinsmen. There was always a close and familiar relation between children and their maternal relatives, particularly between them and their mothers' brother.³⁸ However, mother's brother and sister's child were usually not members of the same ward and could under traditional conditions already have been separated spatially. The scattering of the ward and the population in general has therefore not affected their spatial relations profoundly, so that their personal relations could continue relatively undisturbed. On the other hand the process of scattering has considerably affected the spatial relations of close patrilineal kin who were members of the same ward, and has made for the disappearance of much of the contact and co-operation that used to exist.

The fact that the preference for cross-cousin marriage and marriages between other

close kinsmen is disappearing, is discussed in a following section.

Hereditary Status

The division of society into (a) Tlhaping, (b) non-Tlhaping but Tswana, and (c) non-Tswana is not one that is marked by deep cleavages. There is no evidence of difference in group status between the non-Tlhaping but Tswana group and the non-Tswana, but the relation between Tswana and Nguni, who form a considerable proportion of the non-Tswana group, is often uneasy. The Tswana tend to be suspicious of the Nguni, while the latter complain that they do not always receive just treatment from the rulers. Moreover, the Nguni still adhere to various customs that differ from those of the Tswana, e.g. they organise separate initiation ceremonies for their boys. It is said that the Southern Sotho members of the tribe also organise their initiation ceremonies separately. People of Nguni stock do not form exclusively Nguni settlements, but they seem to be concentrated more strongly in some areas than in others. I do not know of similar concentrations of Southern Sotho but at the lime mine at Buxton there are many "foreigners", including Nguni and Southern Sotho.

In other Tswana tribes there is a clear distinction between "royalty" or "nobles" and "commoners", also in terminology.³⁹ A similar distinction used to exist among the Tlhaping between people who were of Tlhaping descent and those who were not. Nowadays there is not much that reminds one of this division but the privileged position of the Tlhaping in the political system of the chiefdom is still of considerable importance. Difference in hereditary rank between individuals or different groups connected by agnatic kinship, is recognised, but plays no important role in the social life of the tribe. Its existence between the three Tlhaping maximal lineages, and the role it plays in the initiation ceremonies,

³⁷ The gifts a young man makes to his mother's brother are known by the special name of *mašore*.

³⁸ Cf. Schapera, in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, p. 145, and *The Tswana*, p. 45.

³⁹ Schapera, *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom*, pp. 30-31.

has already been discussed. Reference has also been made to the fact that the status of the chief has diminished considerably.

In common with other Tswana, the Tlhaping used to have serfs who held a particularly inferior position in society,⁴⁰ but such a group no longer exists.

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Marriage among the Tlhaping does not differ greatly from Tswana marriage in general.⁴¹ Nowadays there are no institutionalised requirements which a youth must fulfil before he can get married, such as initiation in former times. Initiation ceremonies still take place, but are not attended by all, and those not initiated are not barred from marriage. Where formerly marriages were mostly initiated and organised by the parents of a couple, it is nowadays general practice that the initiative is taken by the young people themselves. When they have informed their parents of their mutual love and agreement, the parents of the young man formally "seek" the girl for him. Besides the parents on both sides, other relatives also take part in the negotiations and discussions: the girl's maternal uncle's consent to the marriage is specially required. If agreement is reached, the young man's father makes a gift of a sheep (known as *mokwele*) to the girl's people. This confirms the betrothal. He may also give money and a bag of corn, and when the girl's people brew beer from this corn, some of it is sent to the young man's people.

After this the boy usually goes off to work to obtain the necessary cash for the girl's wedding outfit, the cost of which may easily amount to £35. He must also provide his own clothes for the wedding, which may cost him nearly as much. Usually, therefore, quite a long time passes before preparations for the marriage start in earnest. Particularly important is the visit to a store to purchase the bride's wedding outfit. She is

accompanied by a few of her own kinsfolk and by one or two relatives of the bridegroom who make the necessary payments on his behalf. The bridegroom's father, apart from preparing the feast at his own homestead, also has to make several contributions to the feast at the bride's home. The parents on both sides are assisted by their relatives by various contributions, especially by the maternal uncle of bride or bridegroom, who is again entitled to the skins and heads of the animals slaughtered, and to a special portion of beer.

Most couples nowadays marry in church or in the Native Commissioner's office, after which there is first a feast at the bride's home, then at the bridegroom's. Eventually the bridal procession returns to the bride's home again, where the feasting is terminated on the evening of the third day. It is said that this prolonged feasting was not a feature of the traditional marriage ceremonies.

Couples not getting married by civil or church marriage, start married life without much ado. On the day agreed upon, women from the bridegroom's homestead take his blankets to the bride's home. In the evening the bridegroom himself goes there, accompanied by some friends, who depart later in the night. He remains there, and sleeps with his wife. The Tlhaping also have the custom of *go ralala*, according to which the bride remains in her father's home till after the birth of her first child, or longer. Until then the bridegroom should only visit her at night.

Judging by gossip, church reports, and cases in the tribal courts, pre-marital sexual intercourse is common. It is generally held that it is much commoner than in former times, when tribal law and custom were strictly enforced. I have no statistics on the rate of birth of illegitimate children, but it seems that there is the same tendency

⁴⁰ Language, F. J. *Stamregering by die Tlhaping*, p. 27, and Lichtenstein, H. *Travels in Southern Africa* (1803-1806), The Van Riebeeck Society, Cape Town, 1930, Vol. II, p. 416. Cf. Schapera, *ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

⁴¹ Comparative material on other Tswana is mostly taken from Schapera, I., *Married Life in an African Tribe*, Faber and Faber, London, 1940, and Schapera, I., "Kinship and Marriage among the Tswana," in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*.

toward a rising illegitimacy rate as in other South African Native reserves.⁴²

Statistical information illustrating changes in respect of marriage was also collected from the two sample areas mentioned earlier. The marriage sample is made up of the heads of homesteads and all their married children including those no longer in the homesteads. This provided information on 161 unions in respect of 61 males and 69 females distributed as shown in Table II.

Preferential Kinship Marriages

An important aspect of Tswana marriage regulations is the preference for marriages between cross-cousins, and to a lesser extent also, between parallel cousins, as well as the permissibility of marriage with certain other near kin. Tlhaping informants hold that they formerly observed the preferences for cousin marriages, but that they no longer marry near kin. Table III shows the number of marriages of this kind in our sample.

Table II: Marriages Referred to in Marriage Sample.

	First marriage	Second marriage	Third marriage	Total No. of marriages
Marital history from point of view of MALE	61	14	7	82
Marital history from point of view of FEMALE	69	10	—	79
TOTAL	130	24	7	161

Table III: Kinship Relations between Marriage Partners

Relationship between Marriage Partners	Number of Marriages				
	Up to 1902	1903-1918	1919-1934	1935-1953	Total
Cross-cousins*	1	—	2	1	4
More distantly related and not related . .	7	23	31	94	155
TOTAL	8	23	33	95	159

Notes: (1) Dates refer to the date of marriage. To avoid errors resulting from the fact that many natives do not remember the exact dates, time divisions were made by selecting years of well-known events as turning points, giving periods of approximately equal duration.

(2) In the case of levirate and sororate marriages the affinal ties existing through the first marriage were not taken into consideration.

(3) The marriages between unrelated persons include six marriages between partners of Nguni origin, whose marriage regulations do not allow marriage between close relatives.

(4) The sample included many persons belonging to the Tlhaping totemic group, who would be the 'nobles' in terms of the stratification found more explicitly among other Tswana tribes.

(5) Two marriages for which information on kinship relations was not available, have been left out of the table.

* The sample included no marriages between parallel cousins or other kin of the third degree.

⁴² Cf. Schapera, I., "Premarital Pregnancy and Native Opinion: a Note on Social Change," *Africa*, 6, 1933, pp. 59-89. Wilson, Monica, a.o., *Social Structure*, Keiskammahoe Rural Survey, Vol. III, Pietermaritzburg, 1952, p. 102.

The number of marriages between close kin in our sample is too small to justify a conclusion about a diminishing trend for such marriages during the period covered by the table, but it substantiates the evidence of informants that such marriages are not very common nowadays. Additional evidence comes from genealogies which provided information on kinship relations in respect of most of the marriages of the parents of the homestead heads and their spouses. On the whole, these marriages were those of an older generation than the people figuring as subjects in our sample. Information was available for 114 such parents' marriages, and these were made up as follows:

Marriages between cross-cousins ..	5
Marriages between parallel cousins	2
Marriages between other kin of the third degree.. . . .	1
Marriages between persons more distantly related and unrelated	106
—	—
Total.. . . .	114
—	—

Here marriages between close kin constitute seven per cent (8 out of 114) of the total, compared to two-and-a-half per cent (4 out of 159) in the case of the "younger" generations. It seems, therefore, that we may accept our informants' statements that marriages between close kin were more common "long ago" than nowadays, but the change is probably not so very recent.

Schapera has shown that among the Protectorate Tswana there has also been a decline in marriages between near kin generally (persons with a common great-grandparent, or more closely related), but notably between "first kin" (persons descended from a common grandparent or even more closely related).⁴³ This trend he relates to the decline in polygyny and the resulting absol-

ute decrease in the number of first kin from among whom a wife might be chosen. In view of the decrease of polygyny among the Tlhaping also (see below) this might well apply to them as well. I would also relate it, as Schapera does, to the fact that marriage by personal choice of the partners has largely supplanted marriages arranged by the parents and other kin without reference to any pre-existing ties of affection between the marriage partners.

It seems significant, moreover, that among the Protectorate Tswana marriages between near kin are more common among nobles than commoners, and to a certain degree may therefore be regarded as a distinctive feature of the upper social class. Since the superior status of the 'nobility' is no longer as important a feature of Tlhaping social structure as it used to be, it may well be that the decrease in kinship marriages is also related to the diminishing importance of status differentiations.

The incidence of sororate and levirate, or the replacement of a spouse by a more distant relative than a brother or sister, also seems to be declining, but my sample is too small to allow comparison on this point.

Different Types of Marriage

The extent to which marriage by church and civil rites has become a feature of marriage among the Tlhaping is shown by Table IV.

Of 161 marriages in the sample, 85 (52.8%) have been contracted by church or civil rites, church rites still taking a more important place than civil rites. The proportion of marriages by customary union only has been steadily diminishing; those by church rites increased steadily to almost 50% of the total (16 out of 33) during the period 1919-1934, but has in later years

⁴³ "Marriage of Near Kin among the Tswana," *Africa*, 27, 2, April, 1957, pp. 139-159. The percentages in this paper are not directly comparable with mine, since Schapera treats each husband as a unit, whereas my units are marriages. In his earlier paper ("Kinship and Marriage among the Tswana") he also uses marriages as units, and one might compare the 7.7% marriages between kin having a common grandparent or being more closely related (5.5% in the case of commoners) with my own 2.5%, but apparently the sample in the case of his earlier paper included the marriages of previous generations, now deceased, in which case it covers a considerably wider time span than mine. Nevertheless, I am left with the impression that marriages between near kin are more common among the Protectorate Tswana than among the Tlhaping.

diminished in importance to 41.7% (40 out of 96) of the total. This seems to be the result of the acceptance of marriage by civil rites as an alternative method of contracting a marriage recognized by European law. It is only during recent years (1935-1953) that a significant proportion of marriages (18 out of 96, i.e. 18.75%) has been contracted by civil rites. According to our sample, mar-

riage is made at once, not in instalments. Table V shows to what extent *bogadi* has been given in respect of existing marriages.

The figures show a definite increase in the proportion of marriages for which *bogadi* was not given as the marriage date becomes more recent, from 28.6% (2 out of 7), to 40% (10 out of 25), to 69% (23 out of 33), to 74.4% (70 out of 94). This, however,

Table IV: Types of Marriages.

Type of Marriage	Number of Marriages				
	Up to 1902	1903-1918	1919-1934	1934-1953	Total
Customary union only	5	18	15	38	76
Church rites.. .. .	2	7	16	40	65
Civil rites	—	—	2	18	20
TOTAL	7	25	33	96	161

- Notes: (1) What the Tlhaping regard as a legal customary union is discussed below.
 (2) Among the couples married by church rites, four were first married by customary union, and some time later were married in church.
 (3) Of those married by civil rites, two couples started with marriage by customary union.
 (4) There are of course more marriages than those mentioned in notes 2 and 3, in respect of which marriage payments passed although they have been legalized by church or civil rites. The marriage payment then usually passes after the civil or church marriage. (See Table VI.)

riage by church and civil rites has been accepted to a much larger degree by the Tlhaping than among the Protectorate Tswana, where, "according to the 1946 census, about 12% of all marriages in the Tswana districts have been contracted by such rites."⁴⁴

Marriage Payment

Marriage payment (*bogadi*) by the bridegroom's to the bride's people is still a recognized institution, but is not indispensable to marriage. If it is given, this usually happens after children have already been born from the marriage, and then the whole payment

does not unconditionally go to say that *bogadi* is on its way out among the Tlhaping, because in view of the fact that payment is mostly made after the marriage, sometimes even a long time after it, it could be argued that the more recently a marriage has been contracted, the more are the chances that *bogadi* could still be given. Nevertheless, the fact that the percentage of non-payment for marriages for the period 1919-1934 (i.e. all of more than 19 years' standing) is as high as 69% does seem to point in the direction of a decrease in importance. This is also obvious when we note that in 66.1% of all marriages (105 out of 159) no payment

⁴⁴ Schapera, *The Tswana*, p. 41, with reference to *Census Report*, 1946, Table IV. (g).

had been made at the time of the survey, as compared with 50% of a sample of Kgatla men questioned by Professor Schapera in the 'thirties.⁴⁵

Men were not very willing to discuss the size of the *bogadi* they had given, but examples given varied between four and fourteen head of cattle. The payment should always consist of an even number of beasts. Sheep may be substituted for cattle, but not goats, while it is said that £10 or £12

establishes the right of the husband to the children born from the marriage. Nevertheless I more than once heard the opinion that to-day the children belong to the man, and take his name, even although he has not given *bogadi*. This is held to be a deviation from tradition. However, if a man who has not made marriage payment has daughters and they get married and payment is given in respect of *their* marriages, then it is said their mother's brother comes to take the

Table V: Giving of Bogadi (Marriage Payment).

<i>Bogadi</i>	Number of Marriages			
	Up to 1918*	1919-1934	1935-1953	Total
Given	20	10	24	54
Not given	12	23	70	105
TOTAL	32	33	94	159

Chi-squar = 15.54 which is significant for two degrees of freedom at a .1% level.

* The two columns "Up to 1902" and "1903-1918" had to be combined for the application of the Chi-square test. Before 1903 there were seven marriages for five of which *bogadi* was given; from 1903 to 1918 there were twenty-five, and *bogadi* was given for fifteen.

Note: For two marriages information on *bogadi* was not obtained.

in cash is also accepted as *bogadi*. The giving of *bogadi* is the responsibility of the man himself. He may ask his father and other agnatic kinsmen as well as his maternal uncle to contribute, which they do if they can. The wife's father is the chief recipient, but her maternal uncle is entitled to at least one animal. If the size of the *bogadi* allows, a few close agnatic relatives and the junior maternal aunt of the woman for whose marriage the payment is made also receive a share.

The primary significance of marriage payment among the Tlhaping to-day is that it

whole of the payment made. Moreover, in the case of divorce the giving of *bogadi* still seems to be the factor which decides with whom the children go, for when payment has been made, they must remain with the father (This of course does not apply to marriages entered into by European law.) Apart from establishing the right to children in a case of divorce, it does not seem as if marriage payment is held to be essential to the establishment of a legal marriage, but it is recognised as having been essential in former times, as it still is among some other Tswana tribes.

⁴⁵ Schapera, *Married Life in an African Tribe*, p. 88. The contrast between these Tswana peoples and the people of Keiskammahoek, who are predominantly Mfengu (Nguni), and who are also experiencing a high degree of social change, is remarkable. For marriages contracted during the 1940's alone, the percentage of non-payment of *lobola* was only 2.6. (Wilson, Monica, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86.)

In marriages by customary law the important factor that legalises the union is the consent of the parents, especially those of the girl. If they have given their consent to a marriage, it is held to be legal, whether marriage payment has been made, or not. Nevertheless, a marriage in respect of which the payment has been made, seems to be considered as being more complete, and of higher status, than one in which the payment has not been made. This is reflected in the custom, still observed, that only a woman

or by civil rites. Such marriages have immediate legitimacy which is easily proved. The figures in Table VI, however, seem to contradict this theory. The percentage of non-payment is almost the same for marriages contracted by church and civil rites, as for those contracted by customary usage only. That means that even though there is the easy and ready proof of legitimacy provided by church or civil rites, marriage payments are still made in the same proportion as when legitimacy must be proved along

Table VI: Type of Marriage by Giving of Bogadi.

Type of Marriage	Number of Marriages			Total
	<i>Bogadi</i> given	<i>Bogadi</i> not given		
		Number	%	
Customary union only	25	51	67·1	76
Marriage by Church rites	23	41	64·1	64
Marriage by Civil rites	6	13	68·4	19
TOTAL	54	105	66	159

married with *bogadi* is buried in the stock pen. Similarly, children of the homestead can only be buried there if *bogadi* has been given in respect of the marriage from which they were born. The type of marriage carrying the highest prestige is the one contracted in accordance with European law (church or civil rites) and in respect of which marriage payment has also been made.

It seems reasonable to suspect that the decline in importance of marriage payment may be connected with the increase in the proportion of marriages contracted in church

the more tedious traditional lines, where the marriage has taken the form of a customary union only.

It may be that heavy losses of stock suffered by the Tlhaping during the last half-century as a result of continual droughts has something to do with the trend to abandon *bogadi*.⁴⁶

The custom go ralala

The custom for a bride to remain in her father's home (*go ralala*) until she has given birth to her first child, also, seems to be

⁴⁶ It is significant that a Nguni people like the population of Keiskammahoek adhere strongly to marriage payment and at the same time are reluctant to offer their cattle for sale (Houghton, D. Hobart and Edith M. Walton, *The Economy of a Native Reserve*, Keiskammahoek Rural Survey, Vol. II, Shuter & Shooter, Pietermaritzburg, 1952), whereas the Tlhaping, among whom giving of *bogadi* seems to be decreasing, sell considerable numbers of cattle at the stock fairs held monthly at Taung. I am inclined to think that the ceremonial value of cattle was not as deeply embedded in the traditional culture of the Tswana as is the case among Nguni peoples.

changing. In Table VII a distinction is drawn between marriages in which the brides stayed with their parents long enough to regard them as having observed the custom, and those who left sooner than the *ralala* custom implies. A stay of a year or more after marriage, or at least till the birth of the first child was regarded as observance of the custom. Those who left within a year of marriage and before the birth of their first child were considered not to have conformed to the custom. The figures show that by

six, no one had had more than two wives at a time. My general impression is that the incidence of polygyny in the chiefdom as a whole would probably be lower than in the sample.

*Household and Family*⁴⁷

In the few cases of polygyny occurring in the sample of homesteads investigated, each wife had her own homestead. But a homestead often includes a compound family formed by the remarriage of a bereaved or

Table VII: Observance of Go Ralala Custom.

Go <i>ralala</i> custom	Number of Marriages			
	Up to 1918*	1919-1934	1935-1953	Total
Observed	17	8	35	60
Not observed	13	21	57	91
TOTAL	30	29	92	151

Chi-square=6.53 which is significant at a 5% level for two degrees of freedom.

* In the seven marriages up to 1902 four brides observed the custom. Of the three not observing, one left within a week of the marriage.

Note: Two sororate marriages and four instances of levirate which have been regarded as separate marriages for other purposes, have not been included here, since custom does not expect the bride to stay with her parents in such cases. For two marriages particulars about *go ralala* were not obtained.

these criteria there is an increasing tendency to disregard the custom. More detailed analysis showed that in almost a third of the marriages the brides left within the first week after marriage.

Polygyny

In accordance with the general trend among South African tribes, polygyny is on the wane. Of the 61 men whose complete marital history was investigated, only three were practising polygyny, while three others had formerly been polygynists. Of these

divorced spouse. It is not uncommon, either, for a single homestead to be inhabited by a joint family. Usually it is formed when a son or brother of the head of the homestead lives with his father or brother, together with his wife and child or children. Another type arises when a married woman who already has a child, is still living in her father's homestead (*go ralala*).

The head of the homestead is usually a married man, or else a widow. In the sample area at Taung as many as 14 out of 42 homesteads heads (i.e. 33.3%) were widows,

⁴⁷ The household unit consists of the persons inhabiting a single homestead.

while at Mokgareng the corresponding figure was 2 out of 21 (i.e. 9.5%). Occasionally the head is a widower or a deserted husband, or else a bachelor or a married man whose wife is still living with her parents. The 63 homesteads in the sample investigated, had an average of 6.3 inhabitants each, including temporary absentees engaged in migrant labour outside the reserve, who averaged 0.8 per homestead. Usually the inhabitants also included people who were not members of the simple or compound family which centred in the head of the household. There was an average of 2.3 such other members to a household, and they were mostly related to the head of the homestead. Sometimes they consisted of the members of a second or even a third simple family, giving rise to a joint family. The number of inhabitants of a single homestead varied between 1 and 13, with the exception of one which had 21. The most frequently recurring numbers were 6 (10 homesteads) and 9 (10 homesteads).

Family relations among the Tlhaping show no significant difference from those among the other Tswana tribes.⁴⁸ There is the same tendency toward the disintegration of the family, and the decline of the authority of parents over children, as is encountered in other South African reserves. Nevertheless, the divorce rate does not seem to be very high. Of the 161 marriages in the sample, only ten (6.2%) had been terminated by the permanent separation of the marriage partners through legal divorce or otherwise.⁴⁹

The homestead mostly consists of more than one building. The circular type of thatch-roofed hut is fast being supplanted by rectangular structures, mostly with flat iron roofs. The most common type of homestead combines one of each of these two types of buildings. The hut is then used as kitchen and general living room, while some of the children may also sleep there. The rectangular house, which may consist of one to four (even more) rooms, usually small,

contains the special reception room, and provides sleeping accommodation for the parents and other members of the household not sleeping in the hut. Some homesteads consist of as many as four separate buildings.

SEX AND AGE

The traditional divisions on lines of sex and age tend to persist among the Tlhaping, though they are not always accentuated to the extent that they probably were in former times. The position of women remains inferior to that of men. This is evidenced in the homestead, as well as in the political sphere, where only men hold office and attend or take part in discussions. At social gatherings the men are served before the women. All chairs are in the first place made available to the men, while women mostly sit on mats on the floor.

The *kgotla*, the enclosure where discussions of the men take place, is traditionally their domain, and women should not enter it. When women are involved in a court case, the sessions are held outside. Although the yard (*lapa*) around the houses is essentially the women's domain, men are not excluded from it. This division between men and women is clearly observed at marriage feasts. Certain portions of the animals slaughtered are by custom set aside for the men, others for the women; the men cook their own meat in their enclosure, while the women cook theirs in the yard. Nevertheless the sexes freely intermingle on such occasions. This intermingling in social intercourse is not confined to the older people and to feasts. Young people of opposite sexes are often seen together, a usage which is in direct contrast with the custom in former times, according to which young people were strictly separated on lines of sex.

The division of economic pursuits between the sexes is not very strict. Women mostly perform the domestic tasks, but it is not uncommon to see a man fetching water or

⁴⁸ Cf. Schapera, *The Tswana*, pp. 39-40.

⁴⁹ Professor Schapera reckons that "well under 10%" of marriages among the Protectorate Tswana end in divorce (*The Tswana*, p. 42).

firewood. It would appear that the women are not as busy as in many other tribes. Home crafts are virtually extinct, except for a little sewing that some women now do. Many women do not regularly attend to decorating and repairing the homesteads. At Taung on the site of the old capital, the dilapidated appearance of many of the homesteads is most uninspiring, and this is aggravated by the many deserted ruins. Moreover, new building techniques call for male workmanship even in repairing. A mud wall or an old type of thatched roof is constructed by the woman and must be repaired by her, but brickmaking, brick walls, and iron roofs, or those thatched in the new fashion with sewn thatch—these must be seen to by the man.

In keeping with tradition, the men care for the cattle and other stock; but women often tend the goats. On the other hand the main burden of the agricultural activities used to be on the women's shoulders. On the irrigation scheme the fields are now issued in the first place to the men, and they are held responsible for the proper cultivation of their plots. Men now also do a lot of the agricultural work, but agricultural officers complain that often the man ploughs the land and then leaves it to the care of his wife, who is unable to cultivate it according to the standards that are set. Both men and women enter the field of migrant labour, but fewer women go out than men, and male migrant labourers also spend more of their time away from home, than do the women. In reaping on the farms, men and women work side by side, and female members of a reaping team share in the payment on an equal basis with the men.

In the churches women form a much larger proportion of the membership than men. They also take a leading part in church

activities. In all the churches men and women sit apart.⁵⁰

Under present social conditions age is not as important a factor in determining prestige as it probably used to be. With some people I was struck by the lack of special respect for the aged.⁵¹ Yet it is still acknowledged that children should take care of their parents in their old age. Some people still hold a belief in what is known as *dikgaba*. This is a type of misfortune resulting from the displeasure of a senior relative, without the latter's purposely willing it, a belief which inspires respect for one's seniors. The custom of reserving the kidneys of a slaughtered animal for the old men is still observed. As far as the young people are concerned, on the other hand, many of the traditional restraints on their behaviour are no longer in force. The complaint is often raised that the young people of to-day are ill-mannered, or that they only play dice and have fallen into 'tsotsiism'.⁵² As there is little work to be done in connection with stock nowadays,⁵³ there is little that keeps boys and young men busy when they are not engaged in migrant labour, and they have ample occasion to get into mischief. Moreover, the economic independence of young people is an important factor in making parental control ineffective at an early stage. The importance of seniority by birth is also diminishing: a younger brother can act quite independently of an older one if he wishes to do so. The abolition of the rule of patrilocal residence has probably contributed considerably to this change.

Age-sets

The system of age-sets connected with the initiation ceremonies still operates among the Tlhaping. A set is formed by all youths who passed through the initiation ceremonies

⁵⁰ The position of women in the churches is discussed in greater detail in my book, *Religion in a Tswana Chieftdom*.

⁵¹ There is some evidence suggesting the existence of a joking-relationship between grandparents and grandchildren. Perhaps the disrespectful behaviour of children toward grandparents must be explained as part of the joking-relationship.

⁵² The term *botsotsi* has full recognition in the Tlhaping vocabulary.

⁵³ Regular tending of cattle is not necessary nowadays since they cannot go astray altogether, the whole reserve being fenced in. Neither are there any more wild animals which constitute a danger to large stock. Moreover many people do not possess stock.

at the same time. There are age-sets for women parallel to those of men. Each set has its own internal organisation.⁵⁴ Some people nowadays do not attend initiation ceremonies, as the most important churches are opposed to it. Such people, however, are also regarded as belonging to an age-set for the purpose of special duties which may be assigned to particular age-sets from time to time. On the other hand, a cleavage becomes apparent at times between the initiated and non-initiated. The time of the initiation ceremonies is one of these occasions, and complaints have occasionally been made that force was used to induce people to attend initiation, or that people who opposed the ceremonies were victimised in some way or another. One Separatist Bishop considered the taking part in the initiation ceremonies or not as a criterion for distinguishing between pagans and Christians.

An incident after the initiation ceremonies in 1951, which had a sequel in the Native Commissioner's court at Taung, illustrates several points in connection with the age-sets.

According to evidence given in court, a boy, who was a scholar in the Tribal School, was said to have cursed one of the members of the recently formed age-set. The boy was summoned to the tribal court enclosure where the leader of the age-set, in the presence of some of the members, fined him £1. 10s. 0d. because it was held that in cursing one member, he had cursed the whole age-set. The boy was unwilling to pay the fine, or to surrender his bicycle, as someone suggested, whereupon the leader sentenced him to fifteen cuts, which he duly administered while the other members present expressed their approval and gave advice. The outcome of the matter was that thirty-two youths were found guilty of common assault by the Native Commissioner.⁵⁵

This incident provides evidence of the internal organisation and solidarity of the age-set.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

The Tlhaping did not form an isolated society before they came into contact with Europeans, but the range and intensity of their external relations were much more limited than at present. Such relations as they had with other native societies (including Bushmen and Hottentots) have changed considerably. Whereas they used to form a small independent state, they have become incorporated into a much larger one. Moreover, apart from wider contacts in political organisation, they have come into close contact with the European population at large.

Whereas their contact with other Bantu tribes formerly used to be largely of a hostile and sporadic nature, it has become more general, but also more casual and easy. It takes place at European labour centres, on visits outside the reserve, and through their churches. The proportion of people within the chiefdom itself who belong to other Bantu ethnic groups, is probably also much larger than it was formerly. Nevertheless, the idea of a broad Bantu nationalism is not very strong. What there is of it, appears to be limited to the "professional" group. There is no branch of the African National Congress or any similar organization in the reserve. The people generally seem to accept the position of dependence in the field of political organisation, though somewhat grudgingly. The complaints they voice, however, are not in terms of the broad political questions of the day, but are of a more particular nature, often in the field of economics.

Their connections with the European population of the country are numerous. In the first place there are the Europeans living in the reserve: 586 according to the 1951

⁵⁴ For the organisation of Tswana age-sets, see Schapera, *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom*, pp. 109 ff., and *Language, Stamregering by die Tlhaping*, pp. 155, f.

⁵⁵ Of the 32 who were sentenced, nine were described as 'scholars', four as 'labourers', and 19 as having no occupation. Their ages varied from twelve to twenty-three years. Particulars of the case are from the records in the Taung Native Commissioner's office (*Criminal Records*, No. 294 of 1951).

census. A large number of these are traders (including garage, café, and butchery owners). A few are missionaries, some are government officers, while many are employees of a lime mine in the reserve. The relations of the Tlhaping with these Europeans are typical of the South African situation: in certain matters they have close relations, while in others they stand far apart. Furthermore, the reserve is practically surrounded by European-owned farms. These farmers come into the reserve to do their regular business, while there is a considerable coming and going of natives between reserve and farms. Travelling for private purposes and in search of labour provides the same occasions for contact with Europeans as have already been described for other South African native societies.

I do not know of any expressions of strong anti-white feeling among the Tlhaping, and it is significant that although I started my fieldwork at a time when the resistance campaign of Africans against the Government's "apartheid" measures was on, I encountered very little evidence of antipathy. When riots took place, even as near as Kimberley, there was little excitement; such opinions as were voiced were to the effect that it was stupid of the people to go rioting as they had done. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to think that the Tlhaping accept the relations without any grudge, and one often hears complaints about treatment they have had from particular Europeans. It is acknowledged, on the one hand, that the coming of the Europeans into the country has brought schools, churches, hospitals, and other amenities which have improved the life of the native people. On the other hand they complain that their country has been hemmed in by farms with resulting shortage of land. Their customs, they say, have been broken down, and the lawlessness among their own people is the result of this.

SUMMARY

Our material on the Tlhaping illustrates clearly the numerous inter-relations that exist between different manifestations of change. Changes in the social structure of

a people are not simple processes, each of which can be easily isolated and described, but, because the relationships within a society constitute a complex structure, changes in those relationships also have a complex nature. What may primarily appear to be a change in one particular aspect of the social structure usually has repercussions in other spheres or aspects of the structure as well. It is difficult therefore to summarize and relate different manifestations of change without a certain degree of cross-reference and repetition.

Politically the Tlhaping used to be organised in one—later there were more—small independent polity with no strong ties connecting it to the outside world. Authority was strongly centralised in the chieftainship. Now their society has lost its independence, has become enclosed in a large state through which it is indirectly linked to societies all over the world, while the authority of the chief over his chiefdom has diminished considerably. The weakening of the chief's powers is not merely the result of formal checks placed on his rule by the authorities of the state into which his chiefdom has become enclosed but it is related to various other factors. One of these is the scattering of the population, which as we have shown, may partly be the result of the weakening of the chieftainship, but eventually necessitated the delegation of authority to the new type of headmen not living in the immediate neighbourhood of the chief, who tend to become more and more independent. Economic factors have also played their role. Migrant labour undermines the chief's authority by removing his subjects from his jurisdiction for such periods as they are away working and by enabling them to be economically independent. The development of the irrigation scheme—primarily an economic undertaking—has also seriously affected the chief's authority.

Strong control on the part of the chief, concentration of the majority of the population in one town, and strong tribal solidarity were linked together in the past. Therefore all the factors involved in the

scattering of the population and the weakening of the chieftainship are also linked with the weakening of the internal solidarity of the chiefdom. Further, government agencies, missions, schools, hospitals, and associations brought a greater degree of diversity into a society which was relatively homogeneous, and this loss of uniformity probably also contributed to the weakening of the ties between members of the chiefdom. Particularly significant are the economic processes involving the use of money and migration for wage labour which have fostered a spirit of individualism detrimental to group solidarity.

We have observed a general *weakening of kinship ties* which is consistent with the growth of individualism, related, amongst other factors to economic developments. It is particularly the stress on unilineal descent that has weakened, and this again is a concomitant of the scattering of the population. With the scattering of the population much of the economic, legal and ritual co-operation that used to take place between the patrilineal relatives living together in a family group or ward has disappeared. Rank based on unilineal descent is also not as important as it used to be. The general trend of the changes suggests that in terms of Professor Radcliffe-Brown's typology of kinship systems⁵⁶ the Tlhaping are moving away from a system approximating to father-right, in the direction of a cognatic system. It must be added, however, that the development by which political offices are more exclusively held by members of the Tlhaping lineages than used to be the case, seems to run counter to the weakening of the principle of unilineal descent.

The choice of a *marriage partner* is now much more a matter for decision by the couple concerned rather than by their parents and other relatives, as used to be the case. The traditionally preferred kinship marriages typical of the Tswana, seem to be disappearing, which shows that kinship ties are giving way to individual taste in the field of marriage also. No doubt missions

have also encouraged marriage by personal choice in opposition to arranged marriages.

Another important change is that the payment of *bogadi* is falling into disuse with many people, and is no longer essential to establish a man's rights over the children born of the marriage. This seems to be related to economic factors such as heavy losses in stock caused by droughts. The difference between the Tswana who do not adhere strongly to *bogadi* and readily sell their cattle, and Nguni peoples who are not eager to sell cattle and strongly adhere to *lobola* may possibly be related to differing values in their traditional cultures.

The weakening of the kinship system also has repercussions on relations within the *simple family*. It implies a larger degree of individuation of the family in respect of the wider kin groups of husband and wife, already evidenced by the present preponderance of individual taste in the choice of a marriage partner. It also means that the kin on both sides are less actively concerned with the continued stability of the marriage. Moreover, family ties suffer directly as a result of migrant labour. The absence of married men affects the relations between husband and wife and makes for less effective discipline over the children. The possibility for older boys and girls to escape to labour centres and to become economically independent at an early stage further weakens parental control. This, combined with the greater freedom with which the sexes meet and mix in youth may again be related to the increase of premarital pregnancies.

At the beginning of this summary I pointed out that the Tlhaping have become *connected with the outside world* through ties of a political nature. Through trade and wage labour they have also become linked to economic processes the whole world over. Particularly through wage labour, but also through general travel, many members of the society now come into regular personal contact with other native peoples and with Europeans, and with their values and modes of life. Generally speaking their relations

⁵⁶ *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, p. 79.

with the outside world have become much more numerous and more intensive. When we bear in mind that ties within the society have slackened—think of the weakening of tribal solidarity and kinship ties—it is clear that the processes taking place are consistent with the Wilsons' hypothesis that "intensity in the narrower circles of relation necessarily diminish as intensity in the wider circles increases."⁵⁷

APPENDIX

Notes on Genealogy of Tlhaping Chiefs and Chief's Headmen

1. Theio Lekweni: headman at Thamasikwa.
2. Sebegilwe (Frans) Mothibedi: headman at Matlako.
3. Kebalepile (Stanley) Ntokwe: headman at Mokgareng South.
4. Frank Mabaatsane: headman at Tla-perg (Banks Drift).
5. Galeshiwe II: grandson of chief Galeshiwe I, whose land was confiscated and his people dispersed after a rebellion during the rinderpest epidemic of 1895. Galeshiwe II now lives under chief Thapama Mankurwane at Modutung in the Phuduhutswana chiefdom. He is desirous of being granted authority over some land and the Galeshiwe branch of the Tlhaping, but is not recognized as chief by the government. Galeshiwe I had his headquarters at Phokwane, a few miles south of the present southern border of the Phuduhutswana chiefdom.
6. Moleme Modisanyane: headman at Mocweding South.
7. Kgosikeehe (Scotch) Mankurwane: present heir to the chieftainship, born 1939. (Note that the majority of the tribe accepted the house of Molala as ruling house after the splitting up at Kuruman.)
8. Chief Thapama Mankurwane: present chief, by Tswana rules of succession regent for Kgosikeehe.
9. Rakuna Mankurwane: headman at Matlapaneng.
10. Morwagabuse (Samuel) Mankurwane: chief councillor to chief Thapama, formerly a member of the Natives Representative Council.
11. Thataetsile (Smash) Mankurwane: headman at Mokassa.
12. Mahura Mankurwane: headman at Upper Chokonyane.
13. Stoffel Leshobo: headman at Mokgareng North.
14. Tlhapietsile (Jim) Molala: chief's court official (*rramelao*) and headman at chief's place (since dead).
15. Lekula (Brown) Mahura (of Koko, of Bogosieng, of Mahura): headman at Mogopela.
16. Sekate Mahura (of Bogosieng, of Mahura): headman at Kgobadi (Dry Hartz) (since deceased).
17. Morwa Mahura (of Kong, of Thakun, of Mahura): headman at Pudumong.
18. Lealemang Saku (of Kaing, of Saku): supposed to be headman at Modimong, but away at Johannesburg.
19. Bogosing Saku (of Boitumelo, of Motesemme, of Saku): former headman at Maphoitsile, now dead.
20. Kobane Saku (of Boitumelo, of Motesemme, of Saku): acting headman at Maphoitsile.
21. Barakanye Saku (of Kalaote, of Raphai, of Saku): acting headman at Modimong.
22. Bosan Smous (of Smous, of Morwagabuse, of Matlokobele, of Kgwase): headman at Marope-a-Taung (Old Taung).
23. Gaonwe Mokgosi (of Mokgosi, descended from Pheko): sub-headman at Mathathabe.
24. Joseph Baisitse (of Baisitse II, of Morwa, of Baisitse I, descended from Pheko): sub-headman at Manokwane.
25. Gotsilekwena Madito (descended from Madito): companion and councillor of chief Thapama Mankurwane.
26. Michael Seoloseng (of Seoloseng, descended from Madito): headman at Vaaltyn.

⁵⁷ Wilson, Godfrey and Monica, *The Analysis of Social Change*, Cambridge University Press, 1945, p. 40.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF CREOLE

MARIUS VALKHOFF*

INTRODUCTION

At the end of last century two great scholars, Professor Hugo Schuchardt (Graz University) and Professor D. C. Hesseling (Leiden University), started studying the creolized varieties of the cultural languages of Western Europe. Until that time linguistics had tended to despise this "bad English, Dutch, French or Portuguese", "corrupted" by Negroes, Indians, Malaysians or Chinese. Schuchardt and Hesseling showed how interesting these vernaculars were from a linguistic point of view and how they afforded us a clearer insight into the evolution of other languages. The Creole languages were born when a small minority of white settlers found themselves in the presence of a majority of natives. In order to make themselves better understood the colonists simplified the grammar of their own languages; for instance, instead of saying in Dutch: *ik ben, jij bent, hij is, wij zijn*, they said: *ek is, jy is, hy is, ons is*, and to stress a word, they often repeated it, e.g. *gou-gou*, and so forth;¹ at the same time the settlers also underwent the influence of their broken language as it was transformed in the mouths of the natives. In this way there was an interplay between the linguistic varieties used by masters and slaves, and this interaction became the stronger as the social

contacts were soon very close. Sexual intercourse was almost everywhere frequent and even intermarriages occurred between the various races: our population of nearly one and a half million coloured people in South Africa did not drop from the skies! That this ancient relation between miscegenation and creolization is not a legend can be proved by several examples of which perhaps the most typical is that of the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands. The former were colonized almost exclusively by white settlers and have remained Portuguese until our own day (with a few minor dialectal divergences); the latter were populated with Negroes imported from the African continent by a minority of Portuguese rulers, who thus became coloured and developed a new (Creole) language. In some places and at certain times the *white* bond servants, who had more or less the same social status as the Negro slaves, must also have taken a large part in this process.

Of the two linguists mentioned Schuchardt studied Pidgin- and Negro-English, Creole Portuguese as it was spoken in Africa and Asia, Creole Spanish and the Creole French of West India and Africa (Mauritius and Reunion); as he was a romanist he had a predilection for Portuguese.² Hesseling was originally a classicist, but he special-

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¹ These are two traits which occur in Afrikaans. I give below a somewhat fuller definition of a Creole language, in which I indicate a few more features with examples taken from Afrikaans: "In the phonological system changes occur, because it is adapted to the habits of articulation of the natives themselves: difficult consonant-groups are simplified by omission of consonants [compare: *sê* for *zeft*, *bo* for *boven*, *kuns* for *kunst* and a host of others] or by insertion of vowels. The most important changes appear in morphology and syntax [e.g. disappearance of the Dutch past historic and pluperfect]. The flexions are reduced to bare rudiments [see our first example above, which is one among many]; distinctions between singular and plural as well as cases disappear in the noun [compare the reduction of the complicated Dutch relative pronoun mainly to *wat*, *waarvan*, the confusion of *de* and *het* becoming both *die*, etc.]; in the verb every now and then the whole conjugation has shrunk and left only the infinitive [e.g. *ek gaan* for *ik ga*, Dutch infinitive *gaan*] and the past participle [probably the case of *verloor* for *verliezen*, past participle: *verloren*] (*Winkler Prins Encyclopaedie*, v. VI, s.v. *Creoolse talen*). It is noteworthy that insertion of vowels (epenthesis) did not take place in Afrikaans and that the Dutch plural was maintained.

² I shall give the complete titles of the books or articles alluded to here when dealing with them in detail.

ized in Modern Greek and then became interested in all sorts of popular tongues. He was the first to describe the Negro-Dutch of the Virgin Islands (formerly the Danish Antilles),³ next he studied the Creole Portuguese trade language of East-India and soon after discovered Afrikaans. Sixty years ago (in 1899), he published his sensational work on the origins of Afrikaans, which was reprinted in 1923, in order to refute the recent books against it by S. P. E. Boshoff (University of South-Africa) and D. Bosman (University of Cape Town).⁴ Here he explained how in the latter half of the 17th century the influx of comparatively great numbers of slaves in the Cape had originated a new language. According to him these slaves had spoken a mixture of Malay and broken Portuguese. Under the influence of this so-called *Malayo-Portuguese* the Dutch of the colonists was creolized and thus the Afrikaans language was born.⁴ Because he apparently put Afrikaans on the same footing as the Negro varieties of the European cultural languages, Hesselings's theory was felt to be humiliating by certain Afrikaner scholars, and it was therefore strongly fought by them and rejected as erroneous. Moreover, in the course of this century, the science of linguistics has shown great development, and new schools, such as linguistic geography, idealistic philology, sociological and structural linguistics, have arisen. Owing to these circumstances—the rejection of Hesselings's theory in the Union⁵ and the new trends in linguistics—Creole studies were almost entirely abandoned in the second quarter of this century.

However, Hesselings's theory is much more *nuancé* than many scholars imagined in their first indignation. Especially in his second and entirely revised edition, which did not receive here the attention it deserved, he adduces good arguments in favour of Portuguese and Malay being spoken at the Cape

by slaves in the 17th, 18th and even 19th centuries; he only postulates an incipient creolization of Cape Dutch, which was stopped before long by renewed "High-Dutch" influences; and last but not least, he is the only scholar who has succeeded in accounting *plausibly* for the "miracle" of the unexpected birth of this entirely new language which is Afrikaans. As I hope to show on a later occasion, there are curious analogies in Brazil and in South Africa between the initial process of social and linguistic creolization and the subsequent reactions against it, analogies which might also militate in favour of his theory.

If I have mentioned Afrikaans in this context, this has not necessarily been to defend Hesselings's "Malayo-Portuguese theory"—I myself have not yet decided whether it is defensible in the present state of our knowledge. But I wish to show the topicality of Creole studies for a country such as our Union of South Africa: both the fact that Creole Portuguese was spoken by a section—at least!—of the slaves in the Cape Colony, and the other fact that this language probably influenced Cape Dutch (although we have not yet examined *how large* that section was and *how far* the Portuguese influence went), suffice to demonstrate the utility of this kind of investigation. There is room for far more study of the social conditions at the Cape in the 17th century, the use made there of Creole Portuguese by the slaves and their masters, and possible similarities between Portuguese and Afrikaans. There are undoubtedly a certain number of words in Afrikaans which are of Portuguese origin; these words are popular and denote very common concepts, e.g. *nooi* (noiva), *palawer* (palavra), *pieping* (pires), *pikkenien* (pequenino), *sambreel* (sombreiro), *tronk* (tronco). But the difficulty is that where they also exist in English (piccanin) or Dutch (pala-

³ *Het Negerhollands van de Deense Antillen. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandse taal in Amerika*, Leiden, 1905. Here we also find a comparison between American Creole Dutch and Afrikaans, in the short Chapter V: *Purten van overeenkomst en verschil met het Nederlands in Zuid-Afrika*.

⁴ *Het Afrikaans; Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandse taal in Zuid-Afrika*, 2de herziene en vermeerderde uitgave, Leiden, 1923.

⁵ It is worth noting that Hesselings's theory is still taught and accepted in most departments of Nederlands in Dutch and Belgian universities.

ver), they *may* have been transmitted by these languages.⁶ There does appear, however, to be a substantial remainder of directly borrowed terms, and there are also other curious similarities in morphology and syntax. A study of "High Dutch" used at the Cape in the period mentioned, as compared with continental Dutch, would certainly help to throw some light on this problem.⁷

In my opinion Hesseling's only shortcoming was a sort of optical illusion. He based the existence of his Malayo-Portuguese slave language on one of Schuchardt's *Kreolische Studien* dealing with Malayan Portuguese, mainly as it was spoken in Batavia and Tugu (in Java) at the end of the last century.⁸ Now this tongue was probably as "purely" Portuguese originally as the other Creole varieties when the Dutch took the East Indies away from the Portuguese three centuries before. At that time one Creole Portuguese language was spoken all over the sea-route from Indonesia to Europe, more or less strongly coloured in each region by the indigenous tongue; thus we know that in Goa St Francis Xavier preached for preference in that very language. However, when Indonesia was cut off from Portugal by the Dutch this language was abandoned to the influence of the surrounding Malay, and while elsewhere Creole Portuguese kept its Portuguese character, in Java it became *Malayo-Portuguese* and was finally absorbed into Malay. Hence we now have to consider that part of Hesseling's theory in the light of the above line of argument: at the Cape the slaves, if they

did not talk their own native language (i.a. Malay!), used a kind of simplified and broken Portuguese, which was then the universal language of the East. *This* was the language—and not specifically Malayo-Portuguese—that must have influenced Cape Dutch. Moreover there was another important fact which has been entirely overlooked by most historians in this country: in the first half of the 17th century Portuguese was still a world language, probably much more so than French, which was to spread chiefly in the second half. At that period, Jan van Riebeeck, for instance, had a nodding acquaintance with Portuguese and hence we are perfectly justified in assuming a Portuguese influence on the vocabulary of Afrikaans.

As lately as 1948 J. J. Smith (University of Stellenbosch) devoted most of a lecture delivered in the University of the Witwatersrand to combating Hesseling's theory.⁹ This may show how dangerous it had still remained, in the eyes of some people, after 49 years of "refutations"! Perhaps the (unmentioned) reason for this belated attack was that outside the Union the "Malayo-Portuguese theory" is much more favourably received than inside. In the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, s.v. *Sudafricana*, *Unione: Lingue*, C. Tagliavini (University of Padua) considers Afrikaans as probably having sprung from Dutch by an initial process of creolization, which had been caused by "the fact that for a long time Malayo-Portuguese was used as *lingua franca* in South-Africa".¹⁰ In my book *De Expansie van het Nederlands* (3rd

⁶ This is usually the opinion of S. P. E. Boshoff in his otherwise meritorious *Etimologiese Woordeboek van Afrikaans*, Kaapstad, Bloemfontein, Pretoria, 1936. The author also has a tendency to derive most of the French words (in Afrikaans) from Dutch and not from the French of the Huguenots in South Africa; of course it is true that the influence of this latter group must have been insignificant in comparison with that of the slave population.

⁷ In order to prevent any misunderstanding, the author of these lines wishes at once to put on record here his admiration both for the Afrikaans language and its literature as well as for the heroic struggle of the Afrikaners during the present century to get their mother-tongue recognized, accepted and used as one of the official languages. As a Hollander settled in this country, he considers Afrikaans as the legitimate heir of Dutch in South Africa.

⁸ *Kreolische Studien IX: Ueber das Malaio-portugiesische von Batavia und Tugu*, Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien. Phil.-hist. Cl., CXXII Bd., 12. Abh., pp. 1-255. Until lately Schuchardt's studies in Creole had not been acquired by any library in the Union! Photos of them are now available in the Library of the University of the Witwatersrand. One finds a good bibliography of the works of this all-round linguist in Schuchardt-Brevier: *Ein Vademecum der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft*. Zusammengefasst und eingeleitet von Leo Spitzer, Halle, 1928.

⁹ *Theories about the Origin of Afrikaans*, Johannesburg, 1952 (W.U.P.).

¹⁰ XXXII, 936b). This great linguist also states that Afrikaans "presents a certain degree of creolization" in his article on Creole (*Enciclopedia Italiana*, s.v. *Creole, Lingue*).

edition, 1945), I summarized Hesseling's theory in the light of this acceptance by Tagliavini and I also drew attention to J. L. M. Franken's (University of Stellenbosch) studies about the good knowledge of Portuguese at the Cape in the 17th century.¹¹ When I settled here I thought that the investigation of Creole varieties and the phenomena of creolization might be a suitable and interesting object of study for a South African romanistic living in the neighbourhood of Creole French and Creole Portuguese. But there is an even wider field to explore: in an article *Ondersoekings oor Woordontlening* II,¹² I was able to make a distinction between *primary* and *secondary* Creole. That is to say, there first exist the Creole languages, which were created in the period of colonization and which have almost become new tongues, very different from the original Portuguese, French or English; they are *primary Creole*. Next we have the curious mistakes made by the natives when they speak a European language; they are phenomena we find again in the primary Creole languages, but now they are only sporadic and therefore I call them *secondary Creole*.¹³ The old Creole languages are gradually being absorbed by the corresponding cultural languages thanks to a more extensive education, military service and better organized administration. Hence if we want to study primary Creole Portuguese or Creole French, we have to hurry. There will, however, always remain *secondary* Creole traits to be discovered in the typically South African mixture of white people and partly assimilated natives. Summarizing my research programme I think it should consist

of establishing:

- (a) What Creole languages still exist in Africa in our times and which phenomena they still present (primary creolization);
- (b) How, more generally, a cultural language changes when used by natives (secondary creolization).

Now, the unpopularity of Creole studies in this century is a great pity, for in our day we have at our disposal much better methods and we know a great many more facts than in Schuchardt's and Hesseling's time. There are, however, in the 1950's a few comforting phenomena: first we have the fruits of W. G. Hellings's (Amsterdam University) and W. Pée's (Liege University) linguistic mission to Surinam in 1949 and 1950. Dutch Guiana is a mosaic of languages of which Sranan Tongo, a type of English Creole, is the most important. The main object of the two linguists and their staff was to study the position of Dutch, the official language, in these multilingual surroundings¹⁴ and they applied new and interesting comparative methods to test the purity (or impurity!) of Dutch in primary schools of the various ethnic groups.¹⁵ Soon, however, they were attracted by the originality and spontaneity of Surinam Negro-English and most of their publications and those of their collaborators deal with this remarkable and pleasing language.¹⁶ Thanks to these, Sranan Tongo, at first a despised stepchild among the Surinamers themselves, has now begun to acquire a certain vogue. The same applies for that matter to Papiamentu, a kind of Spanish Creole spoken on the island of Curaçao, the most important

¹¹ *Taalhistoriese Bydraes*, Amsterdam, Kaapstad, 1953, passim. This book is a most interesting collection of articles published during this writer's long career; nearly all of them deal with social and linguistic conditions at the old Cape. I will come back to it in my second article.

¹² Published in *Tydskrif vir Volkskunde en Volkstaal*, XII (1955), pp. 21-29.

¹³ Here is an instance of secondary Creole. In 1956, on Inhaca Island (in Delagoa Bay), I met a Portuguese-speaking native who among other curious creolisms said *eu está* "I is" for *eu estou* (1st person) on the analogy of *ele está* (3rd person). Now this is exactly what happened in Cape Dutch; see our example on the first page of this article.

¹⁴ Thus: J. J. Voskuil, *Het Nederlands van Hindoestaanse kinderen in Suriname*, Amsterdam, 1956.

¹⁵ For example: W. Gs. Hellings, *Language Problems in Surinam: Dutch as the Language of the Schools*, Amsterdam, 1955.

¹⁶ Among others: W. Pée, W. Gs. Hellings en A. Donicie, *Opstellen over het Surinaams, Taal en Tongval*, III (1951), pp. 130-192, V (1953), pp. 4-19; and J. Voorhoeve, *Voorstudies tot een beschrijving van het Sranan Tongo (Negerengels van Suriname)*, Amsterdam, 1953.

of the Dutch Antilles. It must have been originally a Creole Portuguese dialect, brought by Negro slaves from Brazil, but has been hispanized under the influence of neighbouring Venezuela.¹⁷ After it had become a favourite object of study among hispanologists, Papiament-speakers themselves began to take such a pride in their native tongue that they now prefer it to the official Dutch! In both cases we have to do with vernaculars in more or less autonomous countries where they are now becoming national languages, the *signum* of a new nationality.

I have not hesitated to dwell a moment on Creole languages in America, for they are not only structurally related to African ones, but also genetically. The slave trade has spread Africans all over America, and Brazil especially was a "storage yard" of considerable importance. One still finds vestiges of Negro languages, folklore, psychology and heredity all over South and Central America.

To come back to our studies on Creole, the annual *Linguistic Bibliography*, published with the assistance of Unesco,¹⁸ has since 1952 added a division entitled *Mixed Languages*, in which we encounter Creole. At first it comprised: I. "Jewish Languages", II. "Creole Languages", III. "Pidgin English, etc.", but the following year (1953) another group was joined to it: IV. "Gypsy Languages". In the first group Yiddish plays the main part, in the second Papiamento (of Curaçao) and French Creole of Haiti and Martinique, while in the third we find New Guinea and other Pidgin together with Surinam Negro-English. Studies such

as the above-mentioned by A. Donicie, W. G. S. Hellinga and J. Voorhoeve, are wrongly inserted here. Both from a genetic and a linguistic point of view Sranan Tongo (of Surinam) is entirely comparable to Papiamento or to West Indian Creole French and should therefore be classed under II and not under III. However this latter classification as opposed to II, is not entirely arbitrary, for Pidgin and its varieties (e.g. *Bêche-de-Mer*) sprang up as trade languages, whereas Creole originated in a more intimate contact between white and black, usually even in cohabitation of the two races. On the other hand, the conditions under which for instance the first Pidgin-English was born in China and elsewhere, were not so different from those which prevailed in Sierra Leone, Surinam or on the Carribbean Islands, when English began to be "corrupted" there.¹⁹ Both types were "emergency languages" from the outset, but one type was accepted by the "Creole" community itself as its common speech, whereas the other more often than not remained an auxiliary language, only to be used with the white traders.

One may also doubt whether the term "mixed languages" is the right heading under which to classify these various tongues, since cultural languages such as French, Roumanian or English are also considerably mixed and all but deserve the same epithet. However, Hugo Schuchardt treats Creole under this heading²⁰ and L. L. E. Rens accepts it in his chapter bearing on this subject, while observing that "the mixed nature of Creole languages is to be found in their grammatical and phonetical struc-

¹⁷ This problem was treated by H. L. A. van Wijk, i.a. in a lecture: *O Papiamento, um dialecto crioulo de origem espanhola ou portuguesa?*, delivered on 17 March, 1958, and published by the "Centro Cultural Holanda-Portugal-Brasil" in the Hague. His answer to the question is that Papiamento was originally Creole-Portuguese.

¹⁸ The complete title is *Linguistic Bibliography* for the year 1952 (or 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958) and supplement for previous years. Published by the Permanent International Committee of Linguists with a grant from the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

¹⁹ See the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XVII, 914 A, 914 B, s.v. *Pidgin*. This is a generally sound article of 4 columns, signed S. J. Br., but the author confuses Creole and Pidgin, condemns the latter, and does not give any bibliography.

²⁰ *Schuchardt Brevier*, III: *Sprachmischung*, p. 150 f.

tures rather than in a mixed vocabulary".²¹ So for convenience sake this general denomination of "Mixed languages" can be defended for the above-mentioned four groups.

Only II and III interest us here and when we go through the years 1952-1958 of the *Linguistic Bibliography* we must confess that the harvest is far from bountiful. Apart from the few works on Surinam English, mainly by the Amsterdam school, the greater part consists of articles; there are hardly any books, not a single comparative study on two or more Creole varieties and almost nothing about Africa. Only the monographs by Dr B. Lopes da Silva on the Cape Verde dialects²² and by Mrs E. Jourdain on Martinique French are quite outstanding;²³ I will treat them in later articles, respectively on Creole Portuguese (II) and Creole French (III). It becomes clear when one skims through the volumes of the *Linguistic Bibliography* that the interest of the bulk of present-day linguists goes to other subjects and that Creole is a nearly abandoned field.

In this connection it is worth examining both the definition and the etymology of the term *Creole*, the more so as this enquiry may clarify the whole question of the origin and nature of Creole languages or varieties.

In the Western European languages *Creole* means either a white person born in a colony or a descendant of the native (usually half-breed or mixed) population, as contrasted with the immigrated white settler or the imported full-blood slave. As we shall see, each language put a different stress on one or the other sense and sometimes

developed special meanings. Moreover *Creole* also stands for the special language spoken by the *white Creole* (thus in Louisiana for the original Louisiana French) or the *black Creole* (thus on the Cape Verde Islands for the strongly creolized Portuguese, which has practically become a new language). Finally the term can be used to name customs or even animals peculiar to the colonies, e.g. in French *indolence créole* (*Larousse du XX^e siècle*), or in Portuguese *galinha crioula*, a pet hen, probably bred at home, mentioned by E. Weekley, s.v. *Creole*.²⁴

As the Portuguese are the oldest navigators and colonists in Western Europe, it is in itself probable that the word originated in one of the Portuguese colonies and was then taken up by the Spaniards, the other important colonizers, in America or one of the other parts of the world where they and the Portuguese were neighbours. From Spanish, *Creole* must have passed into French, the great cultural language of the 17th and 18th centuries, from which it was borrowed by English, Dutch, German and other languages. R. de Sá Nogueira thinks that the French word (*créole*) was derived direct from Portuguese, because Portuguese *crioulo* (older: *creoulo*) is phonetically nearer to the French than is the Spanish *criollo* with its palatalized *l* and clear final *o*.²⁵ But the early French forms, *criolo* in 1666²⁶ and *criole* in 1680 and 1704²⁶ speak in favour of a Spanish etymology.

The various dictionaries give the term as used in America, and especially the West Indies, but one finds also references to African territories such as Mauritius, Reunion, the Cape Verde Islands, the Seychelles

²¹ In his fascinating book *The Historical and Social Background of Surinam Negro-English*, Amsterdam, 1953, Chapter IV: "The Conceptions 'Creole language' and 'Mixed language' (the passage is quoted from p. 47). About Afrikaans, he writes in the same chapter: "On the other hand, a language like the Afrikaans of South Africa, notwithstanding the vehement protests of Afrikaners, presents in its grammatical structure such a striking similarity to the Creole languages, that especially when one lends credence to its (hypothetical) way of formation, one wonders if it should not be included in the series of Creole languages" (p. 38). There are two foot-notes in this passage and the author goes on to argue against Hesseling, because according to him (Hesseling) Afrikaans stopped half-way on the road to becoming a Creole language.

²² I will give the complete titles of these books when I deal with them in detail.

²³ E. Weekley: *An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*, London, 1921, s.v. *Creole*.

²⁴ In his *Prólogo* to B. Lopes da Silva, *O dialecto crioulo de Cabo Verde*, Lisbon, 1957, pp. 23, 24.

²⁵ See A. Boulan, *Les mots d'origine étrangère en français* (1650-1700), Amsterdam, 1934, p. 69.

²⁶ This form and the dates are given by W. von Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. *creare* (II.2, 1296b).

or the islands in the Gulf of Guinea, and to Portuguese possessions in Asia.

I give now a synopsis of the usage of the term in the languages of the great colonial powers of the past or the present. There the word may have been—or still is—more than a purely exotic name and *Creole* must mean something more to the cultured Englishman or Portuguese than to the Russian or the Swede. But even occasional colonizers like the Danes and the Italians may have come across phenomena of ethnic or linguistic creolization in their overseas territories.

PORTUGUESE: According to J. Corominas²⁷ the oldest Portuguese examples, *crioulo* in 1632 and *criolo* about 1643, designate a half-breed in the Congo and a black man born in Brazil respectively. At present *crioulo* (older: *creoulo*, *crioilo*) has the following meanings (in D. Vieira²⁸): (1) "The slave who is born in the house of the master" (this was written in 1879!); (2) "The animal, especially the young one (*cria*), which is born in our power"; (3) "White man or woman originating from the colonies", so that by this definition *uma mulher crioula* "a Creole woman" is ordinarily white, while *um negro crioulo* is naturally black. Meaning (1) already occurs in R. Bluteau (in 1712) and at the end of the 18th century the Brazilian lexicographer A. de Moraes e Silva has in addition: "Negro born in America as opposed to the one from Africa", and generally, "individual of black race"; he also gives some specifically Brazilian meanings such as "individual living in a certain part of the State of Rio Grande do Sul", and "certain type of cigarettes in Brazil".²⁹ R. Dalgado defines *crioulo*, in general, as "American half-breed", "Negro born in Brazil", "colonial dialect"; in particular (in Indo-Portuguese), as "adopted

son" and "servant brought up in the house from his early childhood".³⁰ Both Indo-Portuguese senses are interesting; the latter reproduces the original one given by Bluteau and Vieira, while the former most likely informs us about the custom of adopting illegitimate children from native women, as it is still practised in many overseas territories. It seems to me that contemporary Portuguese dictionaries have a tendency to stress the meaning of *white Creole* and make it the general term, confining that of *black Creole* to Brazil. Nevertheless I have the impression that in colloquial speech *crioulo* as a person usually means "half-breed",³¹ and as a language "the special variety of Portuguese spoken in an overseas province". This, too, is very characteristic of Portuguese colonization, in which miscegenation has always been frequent and—to my mind—has been one of the reasons of its success. Finally the coloured intellectuals of St Thomas island and other regions also call themselves *crioulos* and their language *crioulo* (which at St Thomas is more dignified than the popular name *forro*).

SPANISH: In the two oldest documents *criollo* shows its double meaning of either white or black person born in the colonies. Father J. de Acosta mentions (in 1590): "some *criollos* as they call there [in America] the children born from Spaniards in the Indies", while Garcilaso el Inca (Peru, 1602) writes: "It is a name which the Negroes invented as is shown by 'the work' (*la obra*). It means among the Negroes: born in India; they invented it to distinguish those who come from here [that is to say from the Old World, which includes Africa], born in Guinea, from those who are born over there [America], because they consider themselves more honourable and of higher quality for being born in their mother-

²⁷ *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, Bern, 1934 ss., s.v. *Criollo* (I, 943-944). This is by far the best etymological dictionary not only of Spanish but also of the other two languages of the Iberian Peninsula.

²⁸ For the Modern Languages I will cite the ordinary dictionaries only by the names of their authors.

²⁹ I used the 10th "edição revista, corrigida, muito aumentada e actualizada . . . por Augusto Moreno, Cardoso Junior e José Pedro Machado," which is a reprint of our own day.

³⁰ *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, Coimbra, 1919, I, p. 322a: s.v. *Criolo*, *crioulo*.

³¹ My colleague Professor A. Jorge Dias (Lisbon) was so kind as to confirm this impression of mine.

country than their children, because these were born abroad, and the fathers are offended when they are called *criollos*. The Spaniards, because of "the similarity" (la semejanza), introduced this name in their language in order to designate those born over there".³² J. Minshéu in his *Guide to tongues* (London, 1617) seems to introduce a new meaning for *criollos*, when he defines them as half-castes, namely "those that are born of Spaniards and Indians".³³ But this difference is only apparent, because the black *criollos* soon became mixed with white blood, owing to the particular situation in the colonies, so that full-blood Negroes became rarer and rarer. In Spanish the two main meanings have been preserved to this day and the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, published by the Real Academia Española, has s.v. *Criollo*: (1) "It is said of the son of European parents, born in another part of the world"; (2) "It is used of the Negro born in America as opposed to the one brought from Africa".

It would lead me too far to treat here the usage and semantic evolution of *criollo* in the various Spanish-American countries.

FRENCH: It looks as if, of all the European terms, the French word *créole* has best preserved its "white" character. At its first appearance, as *crollo* in 1598, it already denotes an "Espagnol ou Portugais de pure race blanche, né aux colonies".³⁴ At present *créole* still means what it meant at the end of the 17th century (1693), viz. "personne de n'importe quelle nationalité de pure race blanche".³⁴ Even *créoliser* has taken the picturesque meaning of "s'abandonner à la nonchalance qui caractérise les créoles" (E. Littré) and *créolisé* "qui est acclimaté, habitué aux colonies" (E. Littré); for *créoliser* one finds of course also the ordinary sense of "adopter les mœurs des

créoles" (since Bescherelle, 1849). In addition French knows *créolerie* "lieu habité par les créoles" (familiar, since 1869) and *créolement* "à la manière des créoles".³⁴ The language *créole* is defined as follows: "français corrompu que parlent les noirs des colonies et les créoles dans leurs rapports avec les noirs" (Larousse, 1869); and this definition accounts correctly for the social situation as it still exists in many former colonies. There is also the *nègre créole* (Larousse du XXe siècle), which "se dit exceptionnellement pour distinguer le noir né aux colonies du noir venu d'Afrique". But when we hear about Joséphine, Napoléon's first wife, that she was "une créole" or when some poet sings his "belle créole" we know at once that they were white women, not coloured beauties!

ENGLISH: Perhaps the tersest definition of the English word is the following: "(Descendant of) European (also *Creole white*) or negro (*Creole negro*) settler in W. Indies, Mauritius, etc.; (adj.) of such descent, (of animals etc.) naturalized in W. Indies etc." (The Concise Oxford Dictionary, s.v.). When one reads through the articles in other dictionaries, e.g., the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (both s.v.), one gets the impression that in written English it is the first meaning that prevails. However in present day spoken English in Great Britain *Creole* is often taken to apply to coloured people originating in the colonies.³⁵ There is a certain number of derivatives, such as *Creolian*, *creolism*, *creolization*, *to creolize*. Creole, creolized or Pidgin English is still spoken, apart from Dutch Surinam, in Barbados, British Guiana, Jamaica, Trinidad,³⁶ in Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia³⁷ and (especially Pidgin English) in some parts of the coasts and islands of the

³² These two quotations, which I translated from Spanish, can be found in J. Corominas, *loc. cit.*

³³ Cited by E. Weekley, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Creole* (col. 382).

³⁴ Given by W. von Wartburg, *loc. cit.*

³⁵ I owe this last bit of information to Mr M. Shackleton, senior lecturer in French in the University of the Witwatersrand, and to Mrs M. Nabarro, Research Officer in the Ernest Oppenheimer Institute of Portuguese Studies, both of whom come from the United Kingdom.

³⁶ The latter two islands are mentioned by M. J. and F. S. Herskovits, quoted by L. L. E. Rens, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

³⁷ The 3 last-mentioned countries are listed among the Creole speaking ones on the authority of *Winkler Prins Encyclopaedie*, VI (1949) s.v. *Creoolse talen*.

Pacific.³⁸ It is becoming more and more anglicized where the English still have a strong control, but tends to develop into a national tongue where this is no longer the case.

DUTCH: In 1916, the big *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal*, s.v. *Kreool* (VIII. 1, c. 164, 165), gives two principal meanings: (1) "Somebody of pure European descent born in another part of the world than Europe"; (2) "Somebody who has blood of Europeans and Non-Europeans in his veins". The well-known dictionaries of Koenen and van Dale reproduce these significations but qualify the second one; the former lexicon by adding "sometimes", the latter by stating: "less correct is the use as applied to people of mixed European and Non-European blood". The term is especially popular in Surinam, where the Negro inhabitants use it to distinguish themselves from the foreigners. Just as in Portuguese, the Surinamers also speak about "Creole cattle" (*creool vee*), etc. However, the most common usage seems to be for "the descendants of the old Jewish population, the former slaves and the persons born through miscegenation and called *kleurlingen*" (*Winkler Prins Encyclopaedie*, s.v. *Creool*, VI (1949)³⁹. The Jews having usually remained white, we are back here at our 3 principal meanings.

GERMAN: *Kreole* is missing in H. Paul's dictionary and in *Trübners Deutsches Wörterbuch*, which suggests that it is not a very popular term. L. K. Weigand (s.v. *Kreole*) gives the following definition: "(brownish) American begotten by a white person with a half-breed"; but also "someone of purely European blood, born in the colonies". *Der Grosse Brockhaus* more or less combines both meanings and says: "in Latin-America designation for all people, either white or coloured, born from parents originating from

the old world" (VI, 632. b, s.v. *Kreole*; it also has a paragraph about *Kreolisch*). The *Fremdwörterbücher* of J. C. A. Heyse and F. E. Petri only define the white Creole, but the latter mentions in addition: *schwarze Kreolen*: "descendants of Negroes imported into America". F. Kluge reproduces the same meanings as Weigand and mentions that the word appears for the first time in A. Montanus' *Neue Welt* in 1673 as *Kriolo*, the Spanish form, while *Kreole* was borrowed from French *créole* in the 18th century.⁴⁰ It remains clear that *Kreole* and *Kreolisch* were never applied to situations in German colonies and have remained exotic terms in German.

After the aperçu of *Creole* in the Western-European languages which the reader has just perused, the problem of the etymology will not cause us much trouble. Corominas, who devotes nearly four columns to our term, says: "Everybody agrees that the word originated in Portuguese and that it is derived from *criar*; only the suffix presents a problem.⁴¹ Now *criar* means i.a.: "to nurse, to breed, to nourish, to bring up" and is part of an interesting family of words. We have already come across *cria* "the young of an animal", but there are also *criada* and *criado* "woman servant" and "man servant", *criadeira* "nurse", *criança* "child", *criançola* "young puppy, lad" and *criadouro*, *criadoiro* "nursery for plants" and as an adjective "capable of being bred or of growing well". It is manifest that this word-group contains above all persons and animals bred and nourished in the intimacy of a farmer's or a colonial's household. The famous Portuguese linguist and ethnologist J. Leite de Vasconcelos started from *criadoiro*, which when designating a human being might very well apply to the first and oldest sense of the Portuguese word *creoulo*. Thus in his view *criadoiro* would have come to mean

³⁸ See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. XVII. 914A. 914B, s.v. *Pidgin*.

³⁹ However, Rens remarks: "In this study we understand by the term *Creole* what the word has come to mean in Surinam in our day, namely the Surinamers of African descent, whether pure Negro or not" (*op. cit.*, p. 28, n.2).

⁴⁰ *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, 11 Auflage. Mit Unterstützung durch Wolfgang Krause, bearbeitet von Alfred Götze. Berlin, Leipzig, 1934.

⁴¹ J. Corominas, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Criollo*.

"he who was allowed to be brought up in the house", that is to say the slave born in the family as distinct from the imported one (the *bozal*). However, viewed from a phonological standpoint this etymology presents more difficulties than from a semantic one. One would have to suppose the following evolution: *criadoiro* > **criaioiro* > **crioioiro* > *crioilo* > *crioulo* (J. Cornu), which is entirely uncommon in Portuguese. Leite de Vasconcelos himself had thought of a corruption of the word in the mouths of the slaves⁴²; for that matter, we saw that Garcilaso el Inca supposed the term to have been coined by them. Because of this phonological difficulty the eminent woman philologist Carolina Michaëlis had suggested a derivation from the stem of *criar* with the diminutive suffix *-oilo* or *-oulo*, of which there are several other examples (*moçoila*, *lentejoulas*, *papoula*, *caçoila*)⁴³. Corominas follows the same line, without knowing Dona Carolina's study, and improves upon her by starting from an existing word *cria*, which in Brazil meant "slave or servant born and brought up in the house of the master" (C. de Figueiredo). Thus we may ascertain that the etymology of *crioulo* has been pretty well established, so that we may now draw some inferences from it.⁴⁴

It is, consequently, in these social and linguistic surroundings that we have to place the birth of the Creole languages. In conditions which—just as in Roman times—were not always as bad as we now think, close contact was established between the master and his slaves. In the best case, the latter became part of his *familia*—as in Rome—and when he was unmarried or had not brought his family, the owner chose his concubines among his female slaves. Of

course, as from the outset, the slave-owners had to make themselves understood to the Bantu or West-African Negroes, and so a kind of emergency language was born. But owing to the continuous intercourse and intimate relations, this new tongue was not confined to "business transactions" (as Pidgin at first was); it became the speech the slaves used among themselves and in which the white father talked with his coloured children and their black or brown mother. This becomes particularly clear to one who studies Portuguese colonial history, although it goes without saying that each colony had its own character and its own customs.

Rens, who studied this situation in Surinam, deplors that the anglicists have greatly neglected the study of English Creole;⁴⁵ only a few Americans and Hollanders have investigated some of its varieties. Still it is a fact that the Creole languages, because of their odd origin, their character of mixed languages and the queer phenomena they present, are more interesting than the ordinary dialects in England. Moreover they give the linguist an insight into the birth of a new language, which is a rare and curious spectacle. Finally on our African continent with its abundance of Negro and European languages and the consequent possibilities of linguistic mixtures and influences, it is the obvious object of study for a linguist interested in African affairs.

Now Schuchardt and Hesseling were philologists: they preferred to work on *written* texts. Schuchardt would write to the governor in Bissau or the doctor in charge on St Thomas island—or vice-versa—to get documents in Creole Portuguese, and when after months of correspondence, he had obtained his text, he would comment upon it as

⁴² *Antropontmia Portuguesa*, Lisboa, 1928, p. 364. Strictly speaking the etymology was suggested by Cornu, accepted by Nobeling and worked out by Leite de Vasconcelos (see references in Corominas, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Criollo*). The word corresponds remarkably to Latin *creatio* "domestic servant or those born from other servants" and to *vernaculum* "servant born in the house". The Afrikaners, too, sometimes call their servants *sketsels* "creatures" (*skop* = *create* in Latin).

⁴³ In her *Lições de Filologia Portuguesa*, 1947, p. 216, cited by S. Silva Neto, *Falares Crioulos, Brasil'a*, V (1950), p. 6.

⁴⁴ I have not yet been able to trace the origin of the Spanish etymology *criadillo*, diminutive of *criado*, which is reproduced by the etymological dictionaries of E. Weekley, W. W. Skeat and the *Oxford English Dictionary*. E. Partridge (*Origins*, s.v. *create*) rightly comes back to Portuguese *criar*.

⁴⁵ *op. cit.*, p. 42. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* only devotes a few sentences to *Creole*, while it offers 4 columns about *Pidgin*!

seriously as on an Ancient Greek or Latin masterpiece. Neither of them had the idea of going on a visit to the colony in question and noting down in phonetic transcript the language *spoken* by the Creoles. It is true that we now have a few recent studies on varieties of Portuguese or French Creole, but neither of the investigators used a tape recorder or tried to class the phonology of the dialect in a structural system, as it should be done in the present state of our science. In this way both Creole English (the final stage of creolization) and for instance the broken English of the Native miner of the Rand (the initial stage of creolization) ought to be investigated. Hence it would be useful to set up in one of our universities a *Centre of Creole Studies* in which the professors and lecturers in Modern Languages, Linguistics and African Languages would collaborate. A romanicist versed in French and Portuguese could take upon himself the study of Creole French (as spoken e.g. in Mauritius, Reunion and the

Seychelles) and Creole Portuguese (especially of Portuguese Guinea, the Cape Verde Islands and the Islands of St Thomas and Principe in the Gulf of Guinea, which all have a Negro substratum; there is also Creole with an Asiatic substratum). The professors of English, Afrikaans-Nederlands and Italian could respectively deal with Negro-English (e.g. on the coast of Guinea and Guiana) and Creolized Afrikaans (e.g. that of the Griquas) and Creole Italian (the so-called *Lingua Franca* on the South Coast of the Mediterranean). Add to this that in South Africa we would have an excellent opportunity with the departments of African Languages and Linguistics at the university where the Centre of Creole Studies would be established to investigate the peculiar pronunciation and usage of English and Afrikaans among Natives and Coloureds, to establish the rules governing their speech and verify how far these rules are applied in the Creole languages we know.

THE IMPLOSIVE-EXPLOSIVE CONTRAST IN MANYIKA

EARL W. STEVICK *

SYNOPSIS

The phonological system of Manyika contains two pairs of sounds which are customarily described as implosive and explosive stops. The contrast is realized only in certain environments. Phonetic data are introduced to show that these sounds may be differentiated on the basis of a feature other than type of plosion. Three possible descriptive statements, all covering the same data, are examined and advantages and disadvantages of each are considered.

0. *Introduction of the problem.*¹ In modern discussions of sound systems, it is customary to give a central place to a list of the phonemes of the language being described. This is particularly true when the "segmental" phonemes—vowels, consonants, semi-vowels—are being described. Although we recognize that in their physical manifestations the phonemes overlap one another, we conventionally treat at least the segmental phonemes as though they followed one another like beads on a string. In this type of discussion, the "cuts" which the analyst makes between phonemes are all perpendicular to the time axis.

At the same time, we recognize that in no phonological system is each phoneme *sui generis*. This recognition is at least implicit in the charts on which we classify phonemes as "stops," "fricatives," "voiced," "unvoiced," "high," "low," etc. In other words, the smallest units—the "ultimate phonological constituents"—of the sound system are not the segmental phonemes; from an articulatory point of view, they are, so far as we now know, the "distinctive features." This idea is, of course, by no means new.

It follows that contrasting stretches of sound may differ from one another with respect to their phonological complexity. Speaking in terms of segmental phonemes, if we find in contrast with one another a phoneme X and a cluster XY which includes that same phoneme, then we may say that XY is phonologically "more complex" than X. Or if we find a phoneme Z which contains all the distinctive features of X, plus some other distinctive feature, we may likewise speak of Z as being phonologically more complex than X. The concept of phonological complexity is thus a potentially non-committal one which we may use whenever we wish temporarily to avoid the question of whether to treat a particular sound as a cluster (XY) or as a unit phoneme (Z).

The Manyika dialect of Shona, like Karanga, Zezuru, and other Central and Eastern dialects, has a contrast between such pairs of words as **kubárá** (to write) and **kuḃárá** (to give birth), and between **kudúrá** (to be expensive) and **kuḏúrá** (to bore a hole). In each pair, the **b** or **d** of the first member is explosive, while in the second member it is implosive. The latest orthography, adopted in 1955, writes the

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¹ The research underlying this paper was made possible by a Foreign Area Training Fellowship granted by The Ford Foundation, and was conducted in collaboration with the language study programme of the American Methodist Mission. The conclusions and opinions expressed in this paper are those of the writer, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the supporting organizations.

members of these pairs alike. The Doke orthography which it replaced indicated the contrast as above, by using **b** and **d** for the explosives, **ɓ** and **ɗ** for the implosives. For that reason, we shall follow the Doke orthography in citing examples here. Examples, in addition to those already given, are:

mubéde (bed)²

búku (book)

mudára (old)

kufúɗá (to go out from)

ɓungú (corn cob)

mudfare (in the open space)

Elsewhere, the voiced stops that occur are generally explosive, as in:

mbatyá (clothing)

kubvá (to go from)

ndaénda (I went)

nzira (path)

We are not here questioning the adequacy of the Doke orthography from the point of view of representing all the consonantal contrasts employed in the major dialects of Shona. Nor is there doubt that the sounds which Doke describes as "implosive" and "explosive" really do have these phonetic features. His *Comparative Study in Shona Phonetics*³ contains kymographic records which support his own highly skilled observations. The way in which the usual description of these sounds is formulated, however, is less than fully satisfactory both on the practical level and on the theoretical level.

The principal sources for description of Shona consonants are Doke (*op. cit.*) and Fortune, *Analytical Grammar of Shona*.⁴ On the practical level, neither of these treatments explains why an appreciable number of speakers of English should have trouble producing explosives satisfactory to the ear of an informant in the environments where the two types contrast. The same speakers of English have comparatively little trouble with the implosives. On the theo-

retical level, the relationship explosive-implosive is confined to only two pairs of elements, thus adding a comparatively unproductive feature to the total number of ultimate phonological constituents which we must recognize for the Shona consonantal system.

Although neither of the authorities cited above writes in terms of "marked" versus "unmarked" members of pairs of phonemes, the descriptions given produce the impression that it is the explosives which are less complex, and the implosives more so. This paper examines some of the consequences of an analysis which regards the explosives as phonologically more complex than the implosives.

1. *Contrast and complementation.* The contrast between "explosive" and "implosive" is realized only in rather special environments:

#		W
	()	
V		V

where # stands for the beginning of a phrase, W for the phoneme /w/ or (depending on one's interpretation) the feature of velarization, and V for any vowel. In the environments

N	()	()	F
---	-----	-----	---

the contrast is not found. (N is a nasal segment, and F a fricative segment.) Neither type of stop occurs in environments other than those already listed.

The phonetic data pertinent to our problem may best be summarized in relation to the environments in which bilabial and apical voiced stops occur.

1.1 *Initial and intervocalic positions.* When voiced stops occur without accompanying nasal or fricative segments, there is a contrast for the bilabial and apical positions between two kinds of stops, generally called "explosive" and "implosive". No such con-

² This dialect uses a two-register system of tones, high being indicated here by an acute accent, and low by absence of mark.

³ Clement M. Doke, *A Comparative Study in Shona Phonetics* (Johannesburg: The University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1931).

⁴ G. Fortune, *An Analytical Grammar of Shona* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1955).

trast has been described for the palatal or velar positions.

1.1.1. *Explosives*. Doke describes the "explosives" as follows:

The voiced bilabial explosive differs from the ordinary English **b** only in the amount of voicing in the stop. In *Zezuru* only very slight voicing of the stop is noticeable; but in *Karanga* there seems to be no real difference from the typical English sound.⁵

Manyika was of course included in Doke's survey, but he does not specify whether he found its explosive **b** more like that of *Zezuru* or of *Karanga*. His comment on explosive **d** is similar:

This sound . . . is almost the same as the ordinary English **d**, except that the voicing of the stop is less, being scarcely perceptible in *Zezuru*.⁶

There is of course every reason to trust the carefulness and the accuracy of Doke's observations of these sounds; nevertheless, the wording of the descriptions raises a question. Both of the explosives are said to be like the corresponding English sounds except that the *Shona* sounds are only slightly voiced. Presumably this statement applies to both initial and medial positions. Yet in initial position, English **b** and **d** are commonly devoiced to some extent.

In English when **b**, **d**, and **g** occur initially . . . , they are partially devoiced in the pronunciation of most people, that is to say, voice is not heard during the whole of the stop but only during part of it, generally the latter part. With some speakers the voice disappears altogether . . .⁷

We may be quite sure then that in the explosives of *Zezuru* at least, Doke observed something different from English. But the point just quoted from Jones makes us wonder whether what Doke observed could have been "devoicing" in the sense in which

Jones uses it. If not, in what sense might Doke have been using the term? Our answer will depend on certain phonetic data not included in the standard treatments of the subject.

We have already quoted Doke's description of the explosives. From it, we would expect that speakers of English would have little or no trouble in producing satisfactory explosives. However, my experience in helping some two dozen speakers of English learn the implosive-explosive contrast in the *Guta* form of *Manyika* indicated that for many, including myself, the explosives were much harder to produce satisfactorily than were the implosives. On the other hand, of course, some speakers of English, apparently including Doke, find the explosives easy and the implosives difficult.

For other reasons also it is necessary to question the simple equating of English **b**, **d** with *Shona* **b**, **d**. My recorded materials contain a few instances of English words containing **d** quoted by *Manyika* speakers in *Manyika* contexts, and in these the **d** sounds used strike my ear as notably un-English. They have a quality which might be described impressionistically as "dull", or "soft". The same applies, in varying degrees, to the much more numerous instances of explosive **b**, **d** in *Manyika* words, where they are not accompanied by a nasal or fricative segment. In less impressionistic terms, the vowels following these explosives, though fully voiced, frequently have a noticeably breathy quality. This quality is highly reminiscent of the ordinary *Shona* /h/. In fact, one occasionally hears an actual h-like segment between stop and vowel. Doke describes the *Shona* /h/ as a strong throat-roughening of the vowel, **ha** differing from **a** in that roughening, for the effect of the voiced throat friction is observable throughout the duration of the vowel.^{8,9}

⁵ Doke, p. 38.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁷ D. Jones, *An Outline of English Phonetics* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1940), par. 573.

⁸ Doke, p. 92.

⁹ Deserving careful investigation, though beyond the scope of this article, is the use of "throat-roughened vowels" in *Shona* on levels other than the level of segmental phonology. This feature, on both an idiolectal and stylistic basis, constitutes an interesting difference between *Shona* and English.

To this might be added that, like all voiced consonants but much more conspicuously than most, /h/ has low pitch; the tonetic effect of /h/ preceding a vowel with high tone (as in *hárí* (pot), *húní* (firewood)) is thus that of an upglide.

Furthermore, once having learned to produce a thoroughly satisfactory /h/ in the language, it was generally possible to satisfy the ears of informants, when an explosive was needed, by producing an /h/ immediately after the stop. Is it possible that this h-quality may have been at least a part of what Doke was describing when he wrote about a "lesser degree of voicing"?

Our last bit of evidence in the phonetic nature of the explosives comes from a speaker of Urdu. While evidence from such a source obviously cannot be used to decide a phonemic classification, it may still have relevance in substantiating a phonetic description. As a check on my own hearing, therefore, I recorded on a single tape a number of instances of implosive and explosive *b*'s and *d*'s, taken from texts by four different speakers, and played them for a speaker of Urdu, with the instructions that he listen for sounds reminiscent of the aspirated voiced stops in his own language. As expected, he rejected all of the implosives, and most of the explosives. What is significant is that there were two instances of *kudúrá* (to be expensive) which he very definitely identified with his own aspirated *d*'s.

The same informant's reaction to another part of the tape is even more interesting, in the light of the assertion that the Shona speaker's explosives are almost like the corresponding sounds in English. My materials happened to contain the English word *bloodwood*, quoted in a Manyika conversation by one speaker and repeated immediately by another. I had included both instances on the tape played to the speaker of Urdu because to my ear the *d*'s of the Manyika rendition *bládiwudi* sounded quite un-English. The speaker of Urdu quite positively identified both *d*'s in one speaker's pro-

nunciation, and neither *d* in the other's, as sounding like Urdu voiced aspirates.

1.1.2. Implosives in initial and intervocalic positions. In contrast to their relatively brief descriptions of the explosives, both Doke and Fortune give full and careful directions for producing the implosives.¹⁰ The degree of implosion actually heard varies from light to quite marked. Here we need add only that the vowel immediately preceding an implosive frequently ends with an unreleased glottal stop:

ku²basa (to work) cf. *basa* (work) (noun)
The degree of glottal constriction varies from marked to imperceptible.

Incidentally, it is of course also true that implosives are by no means rare even in non-facetious styles of spoken English. My observations on this point are limited to American English, however.

1.2. Voiced stops accompanied by nasal or fricative segments: *mb*, *bv*, *nd*, etc. The *b* and *d* segments of such combinations as *mb*, *dz* are, as noted by Doke, commonly explosives. In this environment, unlike the sounds discussed in 1.1, they sound to this observer much more like "ordinary English *b* and *d*." My recordings contain very rare instances in which the *d* in *nd* is replaced either by an implosive, or by the type of *d* described in 1.1.1 of this article. By chance, a single speaker supplies, within a few seconds of each other, examples of each type of replacement:

mhandú (with implosive)

chirandú (with phone described in 1.1.1)

It should be added that while in Rhodesia I deliberately experimented with the combinations *m^b* and *n^d*, and found that my informant accepted them completely.

1.3. Collation. We have, then, described three ranges of free phonetic variation: (1) explosive, with an *h*-like quality varying from slight to very strong, (2) implosive, with or without preceding [ʔ], the degree of implosion varying from slight to very

¹⁰ Doke, p. 49.

strong, (3) explosive, without (except rarely) either the implosion or the *h*-like quality of the other two ranges.

With respect to their distribution, Ranges (1) and (2) are in clear contrast with one another, as in the examples in Sec. 0. Both (1) and (2) are in complementary distribution with (3). The question then arises whether to postulate one phonological entity consisting of (1) and (3), and another (occurring only in absence of nasals and fricatives) consisting of (2); or to assign (2) and (3) to one entity and (1) to the other. The normal course of phonemic analysis demands that we do one or the other.

The usual solution is to pair off (1) and (3) as members of a single "explosive" phoneme, leaving (2) as an "implosive". This solution implies giving the implosive-explosive difference priority over the contrast between presence and absence of the *h*-quality. If, on the other hand, we assign priority to this last feature, then our solution will be to pair off (2) and (3) as members of a single "plain voiced" stop phoneme, leaving (1) as some other kind of entity—perhaps "voiced aspirated stop".

Note that this second solution, assigning explosives and implosives to a single phoneme, neither requires nor permits us to ignore the unquestionable difference which exists between these two types of sound. But that difference has been demoted, so to speak, from the status of distinctive feature, and re-entered into our description at a lower level—the level on which we describe the environmentally conditioned allophones of the phonological units.

It is perhaps worth pointing out that in like manner the first, and more usual solution, which assigns both explosive types to one unit, and the implosive to the other, neither requires nor permits us to ignore the difference between the two types of explosive. Either solution, then, accounts for the same facts. Choice between the two modes of statement may therefore be made

in the light of other data. Those data will occupy us in Sections 2-5.

1.4. *Phonemic interpretations.* According to the first solution, we have two sets of voiced labial and apical stops: implosive and explosive. If, as we implied at the beginning of this article, we wish to concern ourselves with phonological constituents smaller than the phoneme—distinctive features, in other words—then we need to decide whether the positive feature that distinguishes the two is the implosion or the explosion. The obvious choice is the implosion.

If we adopt the second solution, we might again speak of two sets of stops, perhaps "plain" and "aspirated" voiced stops. Or we might call the "plain" ones (Ranges 2+3) single phonemes, and the "aspirated" ones, clusters. The second member of such a cluster would presumably be /*h*/.

The analysis of the explosives of Range 1 as *h*-clusters is in many respects a tempting one. It would, however, be untenable if there were to appear clusters *ʙh* and *ɗh*, contrasting with the explosives. Exactly such clusters are reported by Doke, but in terms which make their status far from clear. The clusters *ʙh* and *ɗh* are "in very restricted use".¹¹ Doke found them in Bunji, a variety of Manyika spoken on the edge of the Manyika, and also of the Shona area. In Bunji, the clusters seem to be in free variation with the simple implosives. Doke adds, however, that "owing to the difficulty of collecting a Bunji vocabulary, insufficient data was gathered for any real light upon the importance of this feature."¹² In a footnote, the difficulty is explained by the comment that "natives of this sub-tribe do not like to acknowledge their identity, but call themselves Manyika."¹³ This seems to imply that the clusters *ʙh*, *ɗh* are not widely used, even in Manyika. In any dialect or sub-dialect that used these clusters, and also used the explosives of the phonetic

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹³ *Ibid.*

type of our Range 1 in contrast with the clusters, interpretation of the explosives as clusters with /h/ would of course be precluded.

Doke also reports for Karanga that "the same sort of thing has been noticed for **ɗ** with certain speakers . . . , partly with a differentiating effect".¹⁴ However, he seems in doubt as to whether the perceived **h**-quality in this case may be conditioned by a tonal distinction.

2. Pattern congruity. We are now ready to test our alternative descriptions of this one small sector of Manyika phonology in terms of how well they fit into the description of certain larger sectors which include this one. We look first for possible parallels to our three alternative formulations.

Checking first for distinctions between other pairs of phonological units that might parallel the contrast between explosive and implosive **b** and **d**, we find none at all. In at least this respect, therefore, the analysis in terms of explosive and implosive stops fails to find support.

A description in terms of plain *vs.* aspirated stops receives some support from the existence in Manyika of a contrast between segments written **k** and **kh**. The standard illustrations of these segments are **kám-bá** (tortoise) and **khám-bá** (leopard), and the existence of the contrast is undeniable. However, as Doke's examples show, there are a number of words which have **k** in one sub-dialect and **kh** in another. In checking with a Manyika informant even the items listed by Doke under only **k** or **kh**, I found frequent disagreement, the informant using **k** where Doke had **kh**, or vice versa. This indicates that the **k-kh** contrast, while extant in Manyika, is subject to a kind of instability not characteristic of any other in the dialect, including the implosive-explosive contrast.

Turning now to our third mode of description, in terms of **h**-clusters, we find immediate support in the existence of units written **mh** and **nh**, and pronounced as sequences

of Manyika /**m n**/ followed by /**h**/. The contrasts **m-mh** and **n-nh** are realized at precisely the same points of articulation as are the contrasts between our **b-bh** and **d-dh**. Phonetically, it is true that the **h**-quality is generally much more obvious after nasals than after oral stops, but that difference in strength of the /**h**/ can in turn be predicted in terms of the nature of the preceding segment, whether nasal or stop. Finally, the interpretation in terms of **h**-clusters derives at least as much support from the **kám-ba-khám-ba** distinction as does the analysis in terms of aspirated stops. And interpretation of **mh**, **nh** as "aspirated nasals" would hardly be worthwhile, in view of the existence of **m**, **n** and **h** in the language.

The evidence which we have presented thus far, then, seems clearly to favour (a) our grouping together Ranges 2 and 3 as over against 1, and (b) our treating Range 1 as consisting of clusters of stop plus /**h**/. The pronunciation [**mhandú**] would then be phonemically /**mhandú**/, but [**mñandhú**] would be /**mhandhú**/.

3. The voiced velar stop. As implied in what we have said up to this point, the explosive-implosive contrast is lacking in the velar series. Corresponding to the three ranges already described for labial and apical articulations, we have only two velar ranges. The first of these occurs following the homorganic nasal (there are no velar fricative phonemes) and thus corresponds in its distribution to labial and apical Range 3. Phonetically also, it is quite analogous to that range. The second velar range occurs in the absence of a neighbouring nasal segment, being thus like labial and apical Ranges 1 and 2 as far as its distribution is concerned. Phonetically, at least for some speakers, it is highly similar to labial and apical Range 1. That is to say, the stop is often followed by a roughening of the vowel or even by an **h**-like segment.

Now, the two velar ranges are certainly phonetically similar, and are in complementary distribution with one another. On

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

this ground, we may decide to treat them as phonologically identical: as allophones of a single /g/ phoneme. If we do so, and if we wish to describe the labials and apicals as /b/-/bh/, /d/-/dh/, then we are forced to recognize as members of our velar voiced stop, ranges of two types which were kept apart in the labial and apical series. The phonetic feature which for the labials and apicals was recognized as distinctive (and assigned to /h/) is still present, but now is non-distinctive. If, on the other hand, we had analyzed the labials and apicals as /b/-/β/, /d/-/ɗ/, we would now find that our single velar stop /g/ was phonetically comparable to the phonologically simpler (explosive) stops of the other two series.

A third possibility is recognition of the two velar ranges as phonologically different, /g/ occurring after the homorganic nasal, and /gh/ elsewhere.

4. We have arrived, then, at a point where we need to choose among three competing summaries—three “structural analyses”—of the phonetic data. In tabular form, they are:

Description A:

m-1-b-2-β	n-1-d-2-ɗ	ŋ-1-g
3	3	
mh	nh	

Description B:

m-1-b	n-1-d	ŋ-1-g
3	3	
mh-1-bh	nh-1-dh	

Description C:

m-1-b	n-1-d	ŋ-1-g
3	3	3
mh-1-bh	nh-1-dh	gh

Numbers stand for the types of difference that exist among the phonemes and clusters, in each description: 1, nasal *vs.* explosive; 2, explosive *vs.* implosive; 3, absence *vs.* presence of an h-like feature.

Insofar as we consider economy a desirable feature of a description, the following figures are of interest:

Total number of consonants plus clusters:
A, 10; B, 10; C, 11.

Total number of consonant phonemes:
A, 9; B, 7; C, 7.

Total number of types of differentiation among phonemes and clusters: A, 3; B, 2; C, 2.

Description A thus appears least economical both in terms of the number of phonemes and in the number of distinctive features which it postulates. Description C is slightly less economical than the others in total number of phonemes plus clusters. Description B shares the economical aspects of both A and C. On the other hand, the velar stop(s) in A and C are allophonically parallel to the corresponding labial and apical stops, while the velar stop of B is not. As far as symmetry is concerned, C is superior when both the phonemic and the allophonic levels are taken into account.

5. *Participation in morphophonemic alternations.* As is well known, the voiceless stops and certain of the voiceless affricates alternate with voiced counterparts, particularly though not exclusively in the formation of nouns and “strong” adjectives of Classes 5 and 6:

Class 6

Class 5

mapadzá (hoes)	ɓadzá (hoe)
matémó (axes)	ɗémó (axe)
makomo (mountains)	gomo (mountain)

The alternations exemplified here are:

Description A

labial:	voiceless:	voiced implosive
apical:	voiceless:	voiced implosive
velar:	voiceless:	voiced explosive

Description B

labial:	voiceless:	voiced
apical:	voiceless:	voiced
velar:	voiceless:	voiced

Description C

labial:	voiceless:	voiced
apical:	voiceless:	voiced
velar:	voiceless:	voiced plus /h/

Description B is the one that allows us to state the morphophonemic alternation most simply.

6. Our final choice among the three descriptions will depend on the amount of weight which we give to the various criteria to which we have referred: economy, symmetry on all levels, and phonetic realism. It should perhaps be emphasized once more that no *one* of these descriptions may be

either defended or attacked on grounds of adequacy, since all three subsume exactly the same phonetic data. This writer prefers Description C, partly on account of its symmetries, and partly no doubt because he is one of those who found difficulty in pronouncing the explosives.^{15,16} For everyday purposes, of course, there would be no need to write /gh/ distinct from /g/, so that a practical orthography would take the form of Description B.

¹⁵ One additional reason will become clear in an interpretation of the entire Manyika consonant system, which the writer hopes to make the subject of a future paper.

¹⁶ Of interest, but inaccessible to the writer, are the reasons behind a recent change in the orthographic practices of Ndebele, by which the voiced explosive formerly written *b* is written *bh*, and the implosive formerly written *ɓ* is written *b*. See S. N. Malala, "Some recent trends in the development of the Ndebele language," *Nada*, 1958, p. 7.

NOTES AND NEWS

LINGUISTIC HYBRIDS

From:

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In the course of an interesting review of J. Hohenberger's *Semitische und hamitische Sprachgut im Masai* in *African Studies*, 18, 4, 1959, Dr Hans Wolff makes the following comments:

"... Linguistic hybridism of the perfect amalgam type, though often claimed, especially in the African area, has never—at least in the opinion of this reviewer—been satisfactorily demonstrated. As a matter of fact, one wonders how such a phenomenon could or would be produced, and we believe that a plausible description of the process would be a fundamental requisite in proving the existence of the hybrid... Languages are spoken by people, ethnic units, who do, of course, have contact—more or less intimate contact—with other peoples speaking other languages. What type of contact conditions could possibly induce them to give up entire sub-structures from their

own language, whatever it may have been, in order to adopt sub-systems from other languages. This is an over-simplification, of course, but the rise of the perfect linguistic hybrid does require the possibility of acquisition *en bloc* of structural characteristics."

This point of view has already been put forward by Greenberg who comments:

"There is a further internal check, in that grouping based on fundamental vocabulary has never led me to contradictory classifications. If such words were borrowed freely, one would expect that on some occasions A might show many resemblances to B and at the same time to C, while B and C were totally unlike. In other words A would be a Mischsprache of elements of B and C. This never seems to occur. Just as much as in Europe or Asia our evidence leads to unambiguous results."¹

I should like to put forward yet another claim for such a hybrid. The Mbugu, known to themselves as *vaMa'a*, occupy a small area in the Usambara Mts.² of North-east Tanganyika, within the area occupied by

¹ Joseph H. Greenberg, *Studies in African Linguistic Classification*, New Haven, 1955, pp. 2-3.

² A small number may still live in the Pare Mts. to the North.

the Bantu-speaking Shambala. At the time of the 1948 Census they numbered about 11,000. While the material available on the language is not as full as one might wish³, the broad characteristics of the language as spoken at present emerge clearly.

These characteristics may be briefly summarized. The system of affixes associated with nouns, adjectives and verbs can be regularly correlated with the systems operating in neighbouring Bantu languages, and indeed with those operating over the whole of the Bantu field. The stems and roots of the language, however, cannot be correlated with the Bantu stems and roots, nor, in fact are there regular correspondences with any other language families. There are a few correspondences with the Iraqw group of languages⁴ spoken nearly 200 miles to the west, and this is not inconsistent with oral tradition: there are also a number of Asu and Shambala words consistent with borrowing.

The language would, therefore, appear to be an amalgam of a Bantu and a non-Bantu language, and merit Guthrie's term "Bantoid."⁵ Tucker and Bryan prefer the term "Partly Bantu language"⁶ while Greenberg categorically labels the language as "Cushitic."⁷

It is naturally extremely difficult to establish the kind of contact situation which has induced these people to give up large "sub-structures" of their own language, but oral tradition⁸ maintains that they moved into the Pare Mts. from the west, possibly from an area occupied by Iraqw-speaking groups. This is confirmed in the main by the most southerly of these groups, the Burunge. It is possible, however, that one is not recording evidence of a unique contact

situation, but of a more usual situation, which, for one reason or another, has been protracted over a long period. There are certainly other examples in East Africa of groups changing their language completely, in the way that small sections of Bantu-speaking Kuria and Gusii have become assimilated by Nilotic Luò, and similar small groups of Iraqw become assimilated by Barabaig, who speak a Nandi-type language. Here it is certainly true that the affix-system is better established among younger people than among the older generations, and it may well be that if they do not become wholly assimilated by the Shambala, they will in time not only operate the affix-structure of a Bantu language but will also acquire a sufficient number of Bantu stems and roots for them to be considered speakers of a Bantu language.

The following examples give some idea of the contrasts between affixes and stems.⁹ Green's transcription has been adopted here and the following points should be noted:

/hl/ represents a voiceless lateral

/x/ represents a velar fricative

/ʔ/ represents a glottal stop. This is adopted here in preference to Green's use of a double-apostrophe.

A five vowel phonemic system is adopted.

Noun-Classes

Cl.1/2	mu-/va-	muhe, vahe or vamu (person)
Cl.3/4	mu-/mi-	muxatu, mixatu (tree), mwahla (fire)
Cl.5/6	i-/ma-	igeru, mageru (banana)
Cl.7/8	ki-/vi-	kikahle, vikahle (bracelet)

³ The main sources are C. Meinhof, "Mbugu," *MSOS*, IX, 1906; O. Dempwolff "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprachen in Deutsch Ost Afrika" *ZfK*, VI, 1915-16, and E. C. Green "The WamBugu of Usambara," an unpublished MS which contains by far the fullest account of the language. Green's material has been checked in the field both by Miss M. A. Bryan and the present writer.

⁴ W. H. Whiteley, *A Short Description of Item-Categories in Iraqw*, Kampala, 1958, p. 2.

⁵ Languages which "... while they have a system of grammatical genders and agreements operated by means of prefixes, they show little or no relationship of vocabulary with full Bantu languages." *Classification of the Bantu Languages*, O.U.P., 1948, p. 19.

⁶ *Linguistic Survey of the Northern Bantu Borderland*, Vol. IV, O.U.P., 1957, pp. 72-4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁸ See B. D. Copland "A Note on the origin of the Mbugu with a text," *ZfE*, XXIV, 4, 1934.

⁹ Reference should also be made to Tucker and Bryan, *op. cit.*

Cl.9/10	n-/n-	ximeno, ximeno (bird)
Cl.11/10	lu-/n-	luhabi, habi (firewood)
Cl.12/8	ka-/vi-	kawaha, viwaha (knife)
Cl.14/10	vu-/n-	vuxuso, xuso (bow)
Cl.15	ku-	kubo'i (to do, doing)

Adjectives

While a number of these are invariable, others are associated with a prefix series comparable to that listed above. The following stems may be noted:

-hara (bitter), **-giru** (large), **-kuhlo** (good, fine), **-dusu** (heavy), **-gitutu** (small).

Numerals

1 **we**, 2 **nnu**, 3 **xai**, 4 **hai**, 5 **kooi**,
6 **matisu**, 7 **mfungate**, 8 **mnane**,
9 **kenda**, 10 **ixadu**

Personal pronouns

1st pers. sing.	ani	pl.	nine
2nd pers. sing.	ari	pl.	kuni
3rd pers. sing.	hu	pl.	kini

Demonstratives

These are invariable:

iya (this here) **hu** (that there)

Possessives

The following stems seem commonly associated with a full series of prefixes in association with the element **-a**, but the series itself has not been listed:

1st pers. sing.	-go	pl.	-kanu
2nd pers. sing.	-ke	pl.	-kago
3rd pers. sing.	-ku'u	pl.	-kini

Verbs

The verbal- or subject-prefix series conforms to the usual Bantu pattern and is as follows:

Cl.1/2 **e-** (1st **ni-**, 2nd **u-**), **ve-** (1st **tu-**, 2nd **mu-**); Cl.3/4 **u-**, **i-**; Cl.5/6 **li-**, **ya-**; Cl.7/8 **ki-**, **vi-**; Cl.9/10 **i-**, **zi-**; Cl.11 **lu-**; Cl.12 **ka-**; Cl.14 **vu-**; Cl.15 **ku-**.

With the exception of Cl. 1/2 which are **-m-**, **-va-**, the object-infix series is as the subject-prefix series.

The following tenses of the verb **-ma** (beat) have been noted:

tuma, tetuma (We are beating, We are not beating)
twaama, tumaye (We were beating, We were not beating)
tunema, tukama (We shall beat, We shall not beat)
tukama, tusemaye (If we beat, If we should not beat)

The following extended or derived forms have been noted:

dumu, dumuwa (like, be liked)
hala, haliya (become dry, scorch)
bubuhlu, bubuhluka (startle, be startled)

A common feature of the verbal-system is the number of monosyllabic roots, thus:

-he (arrive)	-to (be)
-kwa (build)	-hlo (choose)
-zo (weep)	-ra (dance)
-tu (dig)	-li (come out)
-te (cut)	-zi (forget)

MARGARET WRONG MEMORIAL FUND

AWARD FOR 1959

In accordance with the decision of the Administrative Committee taken at the meeting held at Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate, London, on Wednesday, 28 January 1959, a large number of individuals and organisations in West Africa were invited to recommend persons who had rendered outstanding services to literature in recent years.

Twenty-five names were submitted, six from Nigeria, seven from Dahomey, three from Ghana, four from the Ivory Coast, three from the Soudan, and two from the Cameroons. In addition, the works of a number of persons in West Africa whose names had been submitted for consideration in 1958 were brought forward for review.

At the meeting held at Edinburgh House on Wednesday, 27 January 1960, the Administrative Committee agreed that the Medal and Prize for 1959 should be awarded to MR CHINUA ACHEBE of the Eastern Region Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation for his

first novel, *Things Fall Apart*, published by Messrs William Heinemann.

The novel deals with Ibo village life at the first impact of missionary influence and British administration in Eastern Nigeria, and has been judged by the critics to be a highly praiseworthy piece of current English writing.

Arrangements are being made for the

presentation of the Medal and Prize in Nigeria.

L. J. LEWIS

Hon. Secretary

Margaret Wrong Memorial Fund

University of London Institute of Education
Malet Street, London, W.C.1.

February, 1960.

BOOK REVIEWS

Studies in African Music. A. M. JONES. Oxford University Press, 1959. Vol. I: 295 pp., 18 plates, musical transcriptions. Vol. II: 238 pp., musical scores. £7. 7s. (two volumes).

The work of A. M. Jones has for long been outstanding in the field of African music. His penetrating analyses of rhythms and his demonstrations of the importance of pitch and nonsense syllables in drumming, his ingenious invention of a machine for recording these phenomena and his insistence on the need for studies in the field, have always convinced us of the integrity and authenticity of his work. He has perhaps tended to over-emphasize the rhythmic aspects and to generalize about the music of the whole continent on the basis of evidence from Northern Rhodesia alone; but these are relatively minor faults in a series of pioneering analyses which will always be a stimulus to students of African music.

Since the author's retirement from Northern Rhodesia, we have been looking forward to the appearance of his first large-scale work; the beautiful production of these two volumes, and especially the collection of musical scores in Volume II, lead us to expect an authoritative and comprehensive book on African music. Unfortunately, however, we are presented with a series of essays which lack a central theme, and neither give us a lucid picture of the music of one tribe nor a convincing study of African music as a whole. The quality of the text

is rarely consistent, and it is often punctuated by extremes of detail, which is often tautologous, or excessive generalization based on somewhat shaky foundations.

In the Introduction, the work of von Hornbostel and almost every other writer on African music is summarily dismissed, and we are denied a bibliography because the published material is "either wrong or else contributes little or nothing of constructive value"! This cavalier treatment of other workers' contributions to the subject diminishes the value of the book to the student who hopes for an introductory text-book on African music, which will serve as a starting-point for further critical reading; it might perhaps be excused if we could be sure that A. M. Jones's own work was infallible. As it is, our confidence in his analyses is shaken for precisely the same reason that he mistrusts the work of other musicologists. We agree entirely when he insists that analyses of African music should be based on first-hand contact with the music and the musicians; but we cannot understand why, after twenty-one years' residence in Northern Rhodesia, he should choose to write a book about the music of the Ewe of Ghana, basing his analyses largely on information collected from a single Ghanaian informant in London. This seems to me to be the very contradiction of all the author's own ideals. Would he not question the validity of an analysis of Scottish music made by a Japanese who had never been to Scotland, but who relied on

his experiences of music in Turkey and the assistance of an expert player of the bagpipes temporarily resident in Tokyo? Would he accept without reservation a study of European piano-playing based on an analysis of the views and the performance of one single virtuoso?

Furthermore, even if there are similarities between the music of the Ewe of Ghana, the Lala of Northern Rhodesia, and a dozen other tribes, we still know far too little about the subject to talk, for instance, of "The Homogeneity of African Music" (Chapter 9), or to assume that "African music goes fairly fast" (page 8). The music of the Bushmen is entirely unlike that of the Barotse; the author himself admits (p. 13) that in the music of the Ewe and a large number of West African tribes, the use of a bell to sound the basic rhythmic pattern is a special feature, and that "dancing in Ghana is more organized than in many other parts of Africa" (p. 128). Most of the music of the Zulu, the Xhosa, the Sotho and the Venda, to mention only four groups, is much slower than the average he gives for African music.

In the second chapter, twelve Ewe children's play-songs and fishing songs are analysed, and the author considers this a sufficient sample from which to deduce thirteen generalizations about the nature of music throughout the whole continent of Africa. Further generalizations might have been made if the scales or patterns of melodic movement had also been analysed; but in Chapter 2, as throughout the whole book, these have been neglected, and there has been no attempt made to use the techniques of analysis developed by von Hornbostel, Kolinski, Waterman and Merriam.

The third chapter is called "The Instruments of the Orchestra", but it deals only with the orchestra of the Ewe, who are consistently referred to as "the African". There are, in fact, constant references to "the African" throughout the book, which remind us inevitably of the conversation of the settler who has been in the colony thirty years and "knows the African"—but doesn't, of course. Such language is particularly

exasperating in Jones's book, since many of his generalizations have so far been shown to apply only to Ewe and Lala music.

The next four chapters contain descriptions and analyses of six Ewe dances, and in Volume II transcriptions of their music are given in monotonous detail. These scores are about five times as long as they need be, and thus add greatly to the cost of the book. Nothing is gained by printing page after page of identical drum patterns, and in fact it becomes more difficult for the reader to appreciate the total pattern of the music, because the numerous notes that do not change divert the eyes from those that do. There is, moreover, no indication of how one performance of a dance may differ from another according to the social situation and the number of participants; nor are we told if there are any gramophone records of the music that we might be able to compare with the transcriptions. We are forced, therefore, to trust that one informant and one musicologist are giving us a true picture of the whole of Ewe music, and this is rather a lot to expect of any critical reader. We want to know how the Ewe actually perform their music, not how one Ewe says they should perform it, and here the author does not help us. There is not even a single photograph of the Ewe dancing, only a series of posed photographs of the author's informant, Mr Tay. It may well be that the Ewe always perform their music exactly as A. M. Jones describes it, but we want more convincing evidence of this; we suspect that two performances of the same music are not necessarily the same, and that even expert performers may have different ideas of interpretation. The author virtually admits that this is so on p. 234, where he states that a certain Ghanaian and Mr Tay sing the same song differently. If two expert singers do not sing the same Ewe song identically, why should we accept that the transcriptions in Volume II and much of the text in Volume I represent Ewe music accurately? Oddly enough, the sense of actuality, the human touch, seems to be absent in this book as frequently as it is in those works which the author accuses of

being out of touch with Africa.

In Chapter 8, the author compares the drumming of the Ewe and the Lala. He does not find that the two styles are exactly the same, but at least they are similar enough to justify "one conclusion. The music of the Western Sudanic-speaking Ewe people is one and the same music as that of the Bantu-speaking Lala tribe." This leads, as we now expect, to several other conclusions, notably that "musically, a large part of West Africa forms an indivisible whole with Bantu Africa"!

And so on to Chapter 9, which propagates "The Homogeneity of African Music". The author points out that studies of the distribution of musical instruments, such as that included in Dr Olga Boone's work on xylophones, may tell us more about the history of Africa. This is a valid argument; but it is surely rather excessive to say that "the African xylophone . . . from widely different parts of Africa . . . plays the same sort of music". There is, for instance, a very significant distribution of pentatonic and heptatonic xylophones, there are marked differences in their shape and size, in the style of performance and the music that is played on them; the only homogeneous feature is the fact that they are all xylophones, and that can hardly be considered a significant conclusion. The author's argument for the wide distribution of a certain rhythm-pattern is more convincing, and this pattern appears in a large number of the recordings recently issued by the International Library of African Music. But is the wide distribution of one single rhythm-pattern "powerful evidence of the homogeneity of the musical system"? The author gives a helpful map showing the distribution of unison or organum singing in Africa. One does not expect examples to be quoted from all of the 2,400 groups identified by linguists, but the author's list of 123 peoples and 41 gramophone records seems a rather small sample on which to base several more generalizations about African music.

The relationship between speech-tone and melody is discussed in Chapter 10. The author dismisses Dr Marius Schneider's work

on this problem, on the grounds that he worked with only three Africans who spoke Ewe, and a number of gramophone records. He then proceeds to an analysis based on one African informant and a single gramophone record. He considers his own results more reliable than Dr Schneider's because he uses a tonometer for measuring the patterns of speech-tone. Is Mr Tay's evidence alone sufficient? Do all Ewe speak alike? Is it not possible that Mr Tay might have intoned some of the speech slightly, as he is a singer and knows the song? The speech-tone patterns of Sir John Gielgud are surely not exactly the same as those of Mr Harold Macmillan, and it would be unwise to draw conclusions about the speaking of English even from a comparison of both these voices.

The final chapter is lively and convincing; it has about it the enthusiasm and the atmosphere of actuality which we usually associate with A. M. Jones's work, and which is so noticeably lacking in some of the earlier chapters of this book. It is concerned with "The Neo-Folk Music", and the examples are taken from Northern Rhodesia; the author is "home" again and much more at ease. We can only lament, as we did at the beginning, that he did not limit his study to the music of Northern Rhodesia, with which he is really familiar.

A tremendous amount of time, energy and money has been poured into the production of these two volumes, and it is most regrettable to have to record that the venture has miscarried. The text is obsessional and polemical, often diffuse and unwieldy, and the transcriptions are unnecessarily long; there is very little advance on the work already published by the author, so that it is especially disappointing for those who are already acquainted with his important discoveries about African rhythms. Furthermore, the essence of the contents could very easily have been condensed into a single volume, so that the price would have been less prohibitive and within the reach of a larger number of students. The book contains enough information to be a necessary possession for any serious student of African

music; but if I had seven guineas and wanted to build up a small library on African music, I would rather spend it on copies of A. M. Jones's earlier papers and *The Icila Dance*, and on some of the books by other authors which he refuses to mention in a bibliography.

JOHN BLACKING

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From Ape to Angel. H. R. HAYS. Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1958. 461 pp., 32 plates. 36s.

From Ape to Angel is described as a "popular history of social anthropology", sketching "the extraordinary world of ethical, religious and marital customs. The reader is tempted to learn about the findings of Edward Westermarck, "who studied gorillas to seek the origins of monogamy", and Bronislaw Malinowski, "who investigated the sexual life of savages". The Introduction announces that the "hitherto untold story of social anthropology" will be revealed. One fears the worst and begins to feel as bilious as the dust-cover.

After such an unpromising beginning, however, the rest of the text comes as a pleasant surprise. This is an excellent book, which should be read by anyone who wishes to know more about his fellow men; it deserves to become a standard text-book at schools and universities, for it unfolds very lucidly what one might call the philosophy of social anthropology. The subject is young and there is still considerable discussion about its precise aims and methodology; to understand it properly, the student must know almost as much about its "remarkable pioneers" as about the "unusual customs" they studied. And that is just how Mr Hays unfolds the scope of social anthropology for us. Each aspect of the subject, each method of approach, each theory of society and culture is introduced in its historical context, in conjunction with a sketch of the personality of its chief protagonist. Knowledge of the men helps us to evaluate and appreciate better their

work and theories.

The relative amount of space devoted to a discussion of the life and work of prominent anthropologists seems sometimes to be lacking in proportion. For instance, 10 pages are devoted to Frobenius, 13 to Malinowski and 25 to Tylor; while Radcliffe-Brown is dismissed in a page and a half, and the work of several British anthropologists during the past thirty years, in a single paragraph, with the excuse that "this group of anthropologists has not initiated new trends". On the other hand, this neglect of some important works may perhaps be taken as a compliment to the outstanding contribution of these anthropologists; they and their work do not belong to a history of social anthropology but to the present and future of the subject. We are no longer concerned with Grand Theories, but with slow and methodical work towards compiling a "text-book" on the social behaviour of Man; the anonymous generation of anthropologists, who have no place in Mr Hays's book and whose output is more important than their private life, are writing the first chapters in that book.

Nevertheless, in the period of consolidation which is now following the long period of theoretical experimentation described so well by Mr Hays, it is to be hoped that even the most outlandish theories of the past will not be dismissed for ever, until careful testing can show that there is not a shred of value in them.

From Ape to Angel relieves the student of social anthropology of the task of reading the original works of several writers, by summing up their contributions to the subject in a few paragraphs; this allows more time for careful study of the more rigorously analytical works of recent years. The student's reading list grows more unwieldy every year, and Mr Hays is to be warmly thanked for offering the essentials of at least two dozen books that need not be read in the originals, within one very readable volume of less than 500 pages.

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Foods and Feeding Habits of the Pedi.

P. J. QUIN. Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg. 1959. xvi + 278 pp., 134 plates. £3. 10s. 0d.

"This massive publication . . . is certainly the most comprehensive of its kind ever attempted." (Foreword). It is a gold-mine of interesting, but often entirely irrelevant information. Much time and money has been spent in the preparation and publication of this book, and one regrets that so much of the energy has been misdirected. In the first place, it is not a book so much as a collection of notes without an index; the first chapter, for instance, consists of four pages of tables. There then follow 272 pages which display wide reading and painstaking research; but one wonders to whom the book is addressed, and to what end Dr Quin's many helpers have directed his work.

In Chapter VIII, on "Edible Insects of the Pedi", we are told that Bugs (*Hemiptera*) are eaten by the Bikita of Southern Rhodesia and the Mapulana of the eastern slopes of the Drakensberg; they are eaten in Canton, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Indo-China, Madagascar, Mexico and Siam. All this information is meticulously documented, and is preceded by one relevant sentence: "No evidence of bug-eating could be traced amongst the Pedi of the Northern Transvaal". We are also told about the peoples of the world who eat crickets, dragonflies, cockroaches and scorpions, but once again these are insects which are not a feature of Pedi diet.

This exhaustive account contains information about almost every aspect of food, except the sort of problems (especially sociological) that are discussed in a series of articles on food in *Africa*, Vol. IX, No. 2, 1936. Not one of these important papers is mentioned in the Bibliography, though references are given from the *Wide World Magazine*, *Brandwag*, and the *Malayan Agricultural Journal*. We are told something about Pedi agriculture, the preparation and serving of Pedi food and what it tasted like to the author. The weights of foods before and after cooking are given in great detail,

as well as analyses of their nutritive value. The best chapter is that on "Fire, Food and Feeding Habits of the Pedi". This gives us a good idea of what actually happens in a Pedi household when food is being prepared, ground, cooked and eaten. This sense of actuality and of analysis based on careful observation is something that is noticeably lacking in most chapters of the book. Dr Quin shows that the Pedi have a large selection of foods from which to choose their meals, but he is content to say that the Pedi housewife "displays an uncanny sense of balancing her meals". He does not corroborate this statement with convincing quantitative evidence; he does not show how, over a given period, a housewife does in fact vary her meal porridges and relishes.

Dr Quin's book is very difficult to read; but even when we have waded through accounts of locusts by Livingstone and Junod, we still have little idea of how the Pedi eat and what are their attitudes to food, their concepts of taste and their likes and dislikes. We are not told how often certain foods are eaten; whether a relish is served once a week or twice a day in season, and how often it is eaten during the course of a whole year. A daily survey throughout a year was indeed conducted in nine different households; but people were selected from "households of which the respective heads were capable of answering a daily questionnaire", they all lived on Zebediela Estates within easy reach of a co-operative store, eight of the family heads were clerks and the ninth was an Estate Induna; only four were Pedi, while the others were Ndebele, Rhodesian Tonga, Transvaal Sotho, and Nyasaland Ngoni. It is not enough to know that of a large variety of fauna in Sekukuniland, the Cape Rock Pigeon, the Springhare and the Small Land Tortoise (to mention only three) are all common and eaten; we want to know how often can and do the Pedi catch and eat these birds, animals and reptiles, and whether or not they are a significant feature of Pedi diet. We might say that the English eat smoked salmon and pheasant, but without any qualification this information is of no

significance in a study of English diet.

The author is curiously reticent about his sources of information; all we are told is that "exhaustive enquiries" were made. How were they made, and who were his informants? How much of the research was based on continuous observation of different people preparing and eating the same food, and how much was based on the opinions of a few informants? One has the impression that much of the information was gleaned from Lena, an "*educated tribal* Pedi woman who demonstrated preparation of food dishes" (*italics mine*), and who lived on the Zebediela Estates. She could hardly be considered representative of the Pedi as a whole. Furthermore, as a woman I am automatically suspicious of the dogmatic way in which exact weights are given for the ingredients of many Pedi dishes. Do all Pedi cooks use 4 ozs. of millet meal for every 27 ozs. of fresh milk when preparing a certain porridge? Does any one Pedi cook use exactly the same quantities whenever she prepares the same dish? Are Dr Quin's weighings an average of several weighings, or were the ingredients weighed only once for each dish? The evidence of other workers in this field suggests that the quantities of ingredients used may not only differ from day to day, but also from season to season, and especially in times of famine.

In Chapter XXXIX, on intoxicating beverages, we learn that the Pedi prepare six kinds of beer; beer is more than a beverage, it is a food rich in Vitamin B and containing almost as many calories as milk. The Pedi themselves think of beer as a food, and "eat" their beer rather than drink it; we are told that beer is an important feature of Pedi diet that is served daily (all over Sekukuniland, or only on Zebediela Estates?). It is offered as a reward for services rendered at a work party. But has it any ritual significance? Is it served at parties and funerals? Is it offered to the ancestors? Is it never sold as a source of income? A glance at Dr E. Krige's paper on the social significance of beer amongst the Lovedu might have suggested some fruitful lines of enquiry.

Odd though it may seem, a study of the Feeding Habits of the Pedi still remains to be written. It is to be hoped that Dr Quin will undertake this task, now that he has cleared the ground and classified his material, and that he will realize the significance of studies made by Drs Audrey Richards, Hilda Kuper, Eileen Krige and others, and follow in their footsteps rather than exhaust the possibilities of F. S. Bodenheimer: *Insects as human food*. The Hague, Junk. 1951.

BRENDA BLACKING

Johannesburg

Le Chemin de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger. J.-C. PANIS. Les Editions de Visscher, Bruxelles. 1956. 135 pp., 1 map.

The Trans-Saharan railway project has been before the public for more than half a century, and numbers of papers and articles have been written on it, but here, for the first time, is a book on the subject. It is readily admitted by the author that it is not a comprehensive book, nor is it written for the specialist, but it aims to set out in readable form the advantages of the project and the conditions which make it, as the author claims, "of all the projected railways in the world the easiest to construct".

Rather strangely, the author, Monsieur Panis, is not a Frenchman but a Belgian engaged in colonial administration in the Belgian Congo. Former French Minister Pierre July, who writes the preface, applauds this fact, accepting the remark of M. Panis: "Nous sommes Belges et Européens, mais Africains aussi", which will awaken echoes in the Union where we too claim to be Europeans but also Africans.

In his sketch of the ripeness of the time for the railway M. Panis traces skilfully the evolution of desert transport: the camel carrying its 250 lb. a day for 30 kilometres; the petrol lorry transporting up to 25 tons a day for about 400 kilometres, but using fuel which at Bidon Cinq, in the middle of the western Sahara, will cost 10 times as much as at Oran. The camel, which takes

nearly a year to cross the desert on some routes, has largely given place to the auto. It is the claim of M. Panis that the time has now come for the railway to take the place of the auto on the trunk route. To those who would advocate instead the suitability of air transport in so inhospitable a region the reply is given that whilst the future of air transport is unquestionably assured, its role is mainly to link isolated centres of population. The aeroplane, he argues, flies over, but does not penetrate. It joins isolated places but does not unify. What is needed in the Sahara is a transport system that will encourage economic development between the Mediterranean region and the Sudan.

This traffic would be mainly mineral, the author asserts, for during the past two decades occurrences of many minerals of strategic importance have been located in the desert, including copper, wolfram, nickel, cobalt, and even uranium. The first part of the railway, from Oran to Colomb-Béchar, has been effective in opening up the mineral resources of the northern margin of the desert in this area, and M. Panis is of the opinion that the exploitation of many other deposits could be similarly stimulated.

But not only minerals: the agricultural products of the Niger inland delta, now being irrigated from the weir at Sansanding, would also be transported, thus stimulating the rice and cotton production in this area. The railway would in fact form an economic link for the 40 million people of the Maghreb in the north and the Sudan to the south of the desert.

The author does not claim to be an impartial judge; he is, in fact, a most enthusiastic advocate. "Northern Africa is in full expansion", he cries, "and whilst prudence was necessary at one time the future is now to the bold." More suggestively he adds, "the security of Algeria is in the Sahara".

The book, however, has one great drawback: it was written in 1953. What dramatic changes have taken place during the last six years in the France d'Outre Mer. M. Panis has rendered a service by marshalling

the facts before the advent of the Fifth Republic, and before the rich oil deposits of the northern Sahara became a political and economic factor. He will now have the opportunity, let us hope, of appraising the effects of the new régime and the remarkable discoveries of the past half-decade. Will these revolutionary changes affect his route from Colomb-Béchar to the Niger, and will the new liberties accorded to the French colonies demand a railway to form "a southern link of a Eurafrica"? These are questions which demand an answer as the reader comes to the end of the thesis.

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Esquisse de la langue holoholo. A.

COUPEZ. *Annales du Musée royal du Congo belge, Linguistique*, Vol. 12. Tervuren, 1955. 161 pp.

This volume is a valuable addition to a rapidly increasing series of dictionaries, grammars and works on folklore, published by the *Annales du Musée royal du Congo belge*. It contains a wealth of linguistic data about Holoholo, a Bantu language spoken near Albertville (Province of the Katanga, Belgian Congo). Professor Coupez, in his introduction, mentions the difficulty he experienced in collecting data because of dialectal divergences, and the influence of neighbouring languages on Holoholo. In view of such difficulties, and the shortness of his stay in the field, the author is to be commended for presenting such a concise and yet apparently reliable description of the structure of Holoholo.

There is a great deal of useful and completely new data in this book, and the author has given much thought to tonal problems in particular. It seems Coupez is in the process of working out or rather perfecting a technique started by some other tonologists of his linguistic school, by Professor Meeussen in particular. This great effort would be better appreciated and understood by uninitiated readers, were the data

presented more systematically. We refer in particular to the data presented in pages 35-62, and not to a chapter such as the one on the verb, which is clear. What seems unsystematic may in part be due to the fact that Coupez nowhere presents and explains his views on the classification of the form or distribution classes (parts of speech) he recognizes for Holoholo. A list of the symbols used, and possibly a short glossary incorporating less widely used grammatical terms would simplify the task of the reader. As it is, certain terms and symbols are explained, but sporadically in various sections of the book, and it is difficult to find them again if one needs to refresh one's memory. There is a great need for exchange of knowledge from the various schools of Bantu linguistics, and an adequate explanation of terms and symbolization will, I feel, enable everyone to share the invaluable discoveries and theories presented by other linguists.

In Chapter 1, the segmental phonemes (phonèmes segmentaux) of Holoholo are presented. Holoholo has seven vowels: **j**, **ɥ**, **i**, **u**, **e**, **o**, **a**, and two semi-vowels **y** and **w**. The vowels of the first degree, **j** and **ɥ**, contrast phonemically with **i** and **u** of the second degree in a limited number of cases only. It is doubtful whether **y** and **w** are autonomous phonemes (p. 12): possibly they are to be considered as non-phonemic vowels, says Coupez. Two vowels can meet in a word only if they are juxtaposed as the result of the disappearance of **h**. Otherwise they merge, or one of them is elided, as is explained in detail from pages 15 to 19. The "consonants" are tabulated on page 10: they seem to represent sometimes phonetic segments and sometimes phonemes.

In Chapter 3, part of the tonal system of Holoholo is explained. It is presented on three different levels: phonetic, morphologic and phonemic. This distinction of levels is introduced by the sentence found in the Preface: "Nous avons fait largement usage de la distinction des trois niveaux phonétique, phonologique et structurel, telle qu'elle est présentée par Monsieur A. Meeussen

. . . dans *Esquisse de la langue Ombo* . . . et *Linguistische Schets van het Bangubangu*."

Coupez mentions that the determination of "morphotonemes" (morphotonèmes) is essential for a complete understanding of the tonal system of the language. Any morphotoneme, high or low, is determined by a morphophonological unit, the "cell" (la cellule). There are as many cells in a morpheme as there are "elements" (phonemes, it seems) which can bring about the presence of a mora in that word. After a slow and careful study, it became apparent that in a word such as **kulola** (to see), **u**, **o** and **a** are the moras, **ku-**, **-lol-** and **-a** are the cells which carry a morphotoneme; **ku-**, **-lo-** and **-la** are syllables. The morphotonemes are carried by the cells, and tonemes (tonèmes) by the syllables (p. 24, 2.1.). The centre of a cell may be a short vowel, a semi-vowel, the nasal in a combination NC* except after an initial vowel at the beginning of a morpheme, or N if it brings about an additional mora (if it is syllabic?). There are four tonemes: low (not marked), high (**á**), rising (**ǎ**) and falling (**â**). Each toneme is carried by a syllable, and each syllable carries a toneme. However, rising and falling tonemes are not found on short vowels. The tonemic unity (l'unité tonémique) is carried by a mora, and every mora carries a tonemic unity. The tonemic unity as described by Coupez, it seems, is the "toneme", or phoneme of tone, of American linguistics.

The method of tonal analysis is rendered difficult to understand by the fact that Coupez explains his symbolization of tone and length in different places, depending on the level of analysis he is in. This makes it difficult for the reader, unless he becomes acquainted with the language, or becomes a specialist on *Esquisse de la langue Holoholo*, to judge the paragraphs that follow this introduction on morphotonemes, tonemes and tonemic unities. For these reasons, the reviewer cannot judge the real value of this book, but this is not necessarily a reflection on the standard of the book, or on the accuracy of its tonal data.

* N = nasal, C = consonant.

The chapter headed "Morphologie" contains an assortment of data about the structure of nominal stems, certain morphophonemic changes occurring with class 5 prefix, types of nouns found in some of the noun classes (not all—the remainder are treated in the next chapter), and some further tonal features. Because of the grouping of the data, it is somewhat difficult to find all that one may wish to know on a particular form-class, on the noun for instance. However, if one is a little patient one finds that the Holoholo nominal structure is indeed most interesting. In the chapter on nouns and pronouns can be found data on some of the noun prefixes, on the nominal suffixes used in the derivation of nouns from verbs, and on how to express possession.

Verbal roots, prefixal and suffixal conjugational morphemes, extensions, and the tonal structure of all these morphemes, are discussed at length in Chapter 5. Each tense (Coupez avoids this term and uses "drawer" (tiroir) instead) is represented by a formula which is most useful in explaining its structure clearly and succinctly. Such formulae or patterns showing at a glance the arrangement of the morphemes used in the formation of the "drawers" of the language seem to be the best and simplest way of explaining the structure of a tense. Numerous tables are given to show the tonal behaviour of the tenses. The patterns and the tables make of this chapter the most rewarding of the book.

Various linking morphemes such as /ná'-/ (as), /ná-/ (and), etc., and some adverbs and interjections are treated in Chapter 6. Chapters 7 to 9 deal with words in juxtaposition, interdependent words, and types of sentences. A Holoholo-French lexique, a few Holoholo texts with French translation and a list of verbal morphemes complete the volume.

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An Introduction to Social Anthropology, Volume II. RALPH PIDDINGTON. Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh. 1957. xvi + 377 pp.; 14 figs.; bibliography; 4 appendices. 30s.

The limitations of Professor Piddington's two-volume introduction to social anthropology spring from two main sources. Firstly, it is an introductory text, offering itself for general adoption, and therefore covers such topics as will make it usable in any one of the many different undergraduate courses taught in universities in the Commonwealth—with the result that it lacks a general theme. Secondly, there is a seven-year gap between the two volumes, and this results in the inconvenience of two bibliographies and two indexes.

Having disposed, in Volume I, of the scope of social anthropology, ethnographic "Cook's tours", social and cultural organization, economic life, law, religion and applications, Piddington turns, in Volume II, to human ecology, technology, field-work methods, culture and personality, culture contact, and the study of more complex societies. The complete work thus covers, if in a haphazard order, most of the subjects likely to be included in an introductory course. Furthermore, since the author wisely relates theory to ethnography, it contains many thumbnail sketches of non-literate peoples. (These may or may not encourage students to read the original works on which they are based).

Volume II, with which this review is concerned, has the same faults, albeit in lesser degree, as its predecessor. Though systematic in its approach to social anthropology, it tends to be themeless and pedestrian; while reflecting the author's wide scholarship, it pours too many libations at Malinowski's shrine; and, though embodying an up-to-date approach to culture contact, it tends to neglect the basic sociological (as opposed to cultural) aspects of change, illustrated, for instance, in Gluckman's study of Zululand or Miner's of St Denis.

Undoubtedly the best chapters in this volume are the ones dealing with field-work methods and the relationship between culture and personality. The former (of which

there are two) give the intending ethnographer a detailed and sensible, if sometimes uninspiring, set of directions; and they indicate to the student both how ethnographers collect and how they should collect the material on which anthropological generalizations are based. The chapter on culture and personality comprises an up-to-date, informative account of the configurationist school, followed by a detailed and effective criticism of its approach. It should be read, not only by social anthropologists, but also by those psychologists, psychiatrists and laymen who have been unduly impressed by the journalistic skill of Benedict and Mead or by the mystifying neologisms of Kardiner.

On balance, Volume II is a better book than Volume I; and the two together will probably find their place, if not as textbooks, then at least as works of reference, for introductory courses in social anthropology.

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Dahomean Narrative: A Cross-Cultural Analysis. MELVILLE J. and FRANCES S. HERSKOVITS. African Studies No. 1. Northwestern University Press, Evanston. 1958. xvi + 490 pp.

This work consists of a study of Dahomean narrative forms (pp. 3-81); a critical study of the nature of myth (pp. 81-122); and a large number of tales told in Dahomey, 153 in all, rendered in English (pp. 123-490). It is a welcome addition to the relatively small number of works that deal with the spoken arts of Africa, and it assists our understanding of these considerably. It should be read concurrently with M. J. Herskovits's *Dahomey*¹ since many of the tales are understood adequately only after reference to the relevant section dealing with the cultural background.

The material presented and analyzed here was collected by the authors in Dahomey in 1931 during the ordinary run of ethnographic enquiry. The collection is claimed

to be a representative one, both in regard to the types of narrative found, and the manner of telling. The authors tell us, however, in the frank description of their methodology, of a number of limiting factors which we should keep in mind. First of all, the informants who supplied the stories were all men, since, at the time when this research was done, no woman could be found who could interpret for women storytellers. Then the narratives were collected through interpreters who rendered the tales from Fõn, the language in which they were spoken, into French. What the storytellers spoke in Fõn was interpreted into French, and this the authors would type in English. The texts we have are, then, at two removes from their original form. This method, the authors claim, is not foreign to Dahomey, their use of interpreters being analogous to the use by the chiefs in Dahomey of "linguists" who are the chiefs' mouthpieces, employed when the chiefs are replying to functionaries and petitioners. The parallel, however, is not an exact one, and the recital of tales to an ethnographer outside their normal setting must always remain somewhat artificial. Finally, when we remember that the narratives under study are essential *oral*, and require for their proper performance a participating audience, we realize that the printed version can but be a very pale reflection of the real thing. Nevertheless, even after all these translations, from the original language into English, and from the special medium of the African story-song to that of print, these narratives still retain enough to give us an insight into, and an appreciation for, Dahomean narrative.

It is here that the Introduction is of particular value, both in filling out those aspects of this African art to which I have drawn attention, and in directing our attention to the special literary and cultural problems which are relevant to the study of the spoken arts of non-literate peoples.

An important problem is that of classification. The authors found that the narra-

¹ M. J. Herskovits, *Dahomey, an Ancient African Kingdom*, New York, 1938.

tors themselves distinguished two basic types, respectively *hwenoho* (history, tradition, traditional history, ancient lore) and *heho* (tales). *Hwenoho* are different from *heho* mainly because they are regarded as history, but, along with this difference in attitude, there are a series of accompanying cultural differences which serve to make of the *hwenoho* narratives a special category. There are differences of style, of audience, of occasion on which they are told, and of narrator. The *hwenoho* are divided into (1) myths, which are stories of the gods and of the peopling of the earth; (2) myth-chronicles, which are important as charters for validating economic and political claims of different clans; and (3) verse-sequences recited, for example, by an official termed the King's Remembrancer. These are important for regulating inter-tribal and intra-tribal dealings, and give the people a sense of time-depth, identity and memory. The *hwenoho* are told by diviners and priests of the cult-groups, and by the clan elders. The audience, too, is restricted. For example, in the case of the family *hwenoho*, it consists of clan members, usually only the adult men who attend the councils at which they are told. *Hwenoho* are thus important social documents. *Heho*, on the other hand, are the narratives enacted at story-telling sessions, show much greater variety of theme, "allow the teller greater latitude in interpretation in joining incidents from several stories, and in elaborating a single incident to comment on a currently apt parallel. In short, manipulation is limited only by the ingenuity of the narrator." (p. 23) Only in the *heho* does one find true audience participation. The *heho*, which form the bulk of the narratives offered, are divided by the authors into the following types: (1) Divination stories; (2) Hunter stories; (3) *Enfant Terrible* stories of twins, orphans, children born to die, and those abnormally born; (4) *Yo* stories; (5) Tales of women, love, intrigue and betrayal; (6) Explanatory and moralizing tales; (7) Transformation

tales and other miscellaneous types.

These types are not proposed as exclusive categories since there is a great deal of overlapping. They are suggested by the main interest of the tale, and to facilitate reference to materials from related cultures by suggesting standardized headings. What does stand out is the distinction between *hwenoho* and *heho*. This clear distinction, as well as the extent to which myth has been developed in Dahomey, corresponds to the high degree of specialization within the society. "Officials and priests constituted a superior class relieved from the necessity of daily toil. It was in these circles that the philosophical and religious thought of the Fõn was elaborated."² The relatively great development of myths and chronicles in Dahomey stands out when the body of Dahomean narrative is compared with the oral literature of a group like the Southern Bantu where such specialization did not proceed anything like as far. Not that myths and chronicles are entirely lacking. They flourish where there exist offices such as that of the court praiser or of the medium of a spirit required to give proof of the genuineness of his claim to possession by ability to recite the songs, deeds and life history of the spirit in question.

In the section devoted specifically to narrative forms (section 6), the authors give examples of how the structure of the narratives, even in translation, are susceptible of analysis. The Legba stories are chosen as examples of the myths; and three very different tales, a love story, a tale of retribution and an animal tale, are chosen to exemplify the manner of telling the tales, the artistry and the underlying assumptions. There are also notes on stylistic devices employed and the linguistic aspects of style. Here there are many things which are reminiscent of conventions found elsewhere in Africa. For example, the authors tell us that stylistic distinction is carried mainly by the verb. "Action expressed in our speech by one verb, in Fõn calls for multiple

² P. Mercier, "The Fon of Dahomey," in *African Worlds*, edited by Daryll Forde, International African Institute, 1954, p. 210.

verbs, each of which describes a segment of what we conceive of as a single act." (p. 50) There is free use of onomatopoeic words, frequently reduplicated. The audience is required to second the narrator in his performance by interpolated exclamations. We are told that the Dahomean views the silent European listener as either boorish, or incapable of participating adequately because of a lack of feeling or understanding. Play on words issues in names being given to characters in the story and which are particularly apt in view of their deeds or their disposition or both. The time and setting of tales is often stated conventionally as, for example, the time when the animals lived and spoke like men. Finally there is the standard or stereotyped ending.

Other forms discussed by the authors in this very full introduction are proverbs, riddles and verses. These have their own independent structure and occasions but, being part of the narrators' repertoire, find their way into the narratives as well. In adult society it is the allusive character of the riddle that appeals. They are especially appropriate at the rites for the dead. "For the dead, who are being sent away from the world of the living, must savour all that gave them pleasure when alive; so at wakes, the old men show their mastery in introducing riddles with the broadest inuendo, the greatest subtlety, and the sharpest suggestiveness". (p. 55) Fondness for riddles, and the desire to shine in the ubiquitous riddle game has always seemed to me to be one of the factors responsible for giving African thought and speech its metaphorical cast. The riddle and the conundrum were part of the stock-in-trade of the professional *ahanjito*, the wandering bard, who also had his counterpart in other parts of Africa, and who used them for licensed satire as well as for entertainment.

The proverb has wider currency than the riddle. It is in place in the home, the market place, the law-court. As a corpus, the proverbs of the people are their grammar of values and phrase their philosophy and poetry. Proverbs often figure also in the third type of non-narrative literary form,

verse, providing theme, imagery and moral. Verse in Dahomey, as elsewhere in Africa, is in the form of song and chant, and these have particular tonal, rhythmic and verbal structures. There are professional verse-makers in Dahomey, but the authors estimate that most new songs originate at the hands of non-professionals, e.g. from initiates in a state of possession who are taken as voicing the deity itself. New songs arise from the duty to praise a deity for some striking new favour; or a royal ancestor at the beginning of a new year. In these praise songs, names are important, and are impregnated with meaning and allusion. A man's growth in status and achievement is reflected in the giving of new praise names which, in turn, enrich the rhapsodies in verse which, on important occasions, are declaimed or sung. Other occasions listed on which new songs may originate from this very fertile community are the monthly dance held in the principal market of the city when each quarter is given the chance to satirize the rest, and the occasions when simple everyday tasks are done, either singly, as by a woman at her grinding stone, or by a working party. At the old rites in honour of the King's head, people were encouraged to invent mocking songs to give vent to their criticism of the injustices they felt themselves to labour under. If this were not done, it was feared that the anger in their hearts might harm him and bring evil on to the kingdom. The authors have further sections dealing with imagery in verse, the relationships of verbal and musical forms, the changing culture and its effect on imagery and narrative, and the system of values as revealed in the narratives.

The second part of the Introduction is devoted to the study of myth as such, and to the consideration of several current theories of the nature of the myth-making process. These the authors test in turn on the Dahomean material. The weaknesses of the several theories and their clear dependence on particular cultural backgrounds is thus shown. Thus the Freudian Oedipus theme of hostility of son to father gives way in Dahomey to the father's anxiety in the face

of challenge by his son, or to the theme of sibling rivalry, both themes clearly understandable when one understands the social structure of Dahomey. The Jungian theory of archetypes when applied to the myths of Dahomey is seen to be less plausible in explaining similarities between these myths and others elsewhere than the factor of diffusion. Further this approach does not pay sufficient attention to the great differences in characterization between what appear to be typical figures in myth, e.g. that of the Trickster. Further theories that tie myth and narrative too closely to ritual are shown to be inadequate in Dahomey where clever improvisation is highly valued in the story-teller and where the factor of innovation itself becomes a cultural reality. The idea of primitive uninventiveness is thus a "myth" in the popular sense. The fact that among illiterate peoples authorship is usually anonymous accounts for much that has been said about collective or pre-logical mentality. All such theories about the nature of myth have something to contribute to a more complete explanation which, to be satisfactory, will have to be more widely comparative (cross-cultural is the author's term) than those so far advanced. The authors see, as the three most important elements to be kept in mind in both a scientific and a literary approach to myth, the cumulative reality of culture in human experience, the factor of borrowing, and the creative drive in man.

This work will be of particular value to students of African oral literature south of the Sahara. They will find in it themes and literary devices analogous to, and illustrative of those in their own fields. It is to be hoped that further collections and studies of this type will appear. They are likely to reveal a remarkably homogeneity in this field all over Africa, underlying similarities together with the local differences and developments. The questions which the authors pose, and which, to a great extent, they have answered, open the way to a literary criticism capable of revealing the characteristic riches of African narrative and expression.

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Ngombe-Nederlands-Frans Woordenboek; Dictionnaire ngombe-néerlandais-français. Rood, N. Tervuren: Annalen van het Koninklijk Museum van Belgisch-Congo, Reeks in 8°, Wetenschappen van de Mens, Linguïstiek, Deel 21. 1958. 1, 414 pp.

This is another of the well-planned and carefully executed linguistic studies which we have come to expect in the *Annalen*. With 414 pages of lexicon containing nearly nine thousand entries and a brief grammatical synopsis, it will prove useful to all Bantuists, and indeed to some linguists of other specialities. It does not, however, seem to be addressed to such a professional readership, but rather to persons who will be learning and using Ngombe in the field, presumably largely to missionaries. Rood is himself a missionary of the Mill Hill Fathers. The work is a credit to his mission, and should be also a great help to its work.

Unfortunately, the bulk is not directly indicative of its true dimensions. Everything is given bilingually in Dutch and French. Every entry is glossed twice. Every illustrative phrase or sentence is translated twice. The "Voorwoord" and "Uittreksel uit die Spraakkunst" are paralleled by a "Préface" and an "Extrait de la Grammaire". These are as nearly identical as translation permits. Indeed with only two minor exceptions, they match exactly page for page. This seems an extravagance. From one point of view, the book is lengthened by twenty-some unnecessary pages. I, being partisan to neither, would be happy to have either. But my real preference would be to have one sketch of the grammar, in whichever language seems best to the author, of double the size. For, of course, a description as short as this leaves many things unsaid.

A brief grammatical sketch of this sort is a puzzling thing. For a Bantuist it is tantalizing. Much of the space is devoted to stating just what we might legitimately expect to find, though perhaps we should be thankful to have it explicitly stated. But the details which give individuality and interest to Ngombe are often merely hinted

at, come to light incidentally in the illustrations, or are omitted altogether. For a non-Bantuist it will give a succinct picture of the basic over-all structure. But it falls far short of giving enough detail to be useful in any significant way to a learner, nor indeed does it give everything needed to use the dictionary.

For example, no mention is made of any of the special constructions or usages which centre in so many Bantu languages about noun class 1a. Perhaps none of these peculiarities appear in Ngombe. If this is true, it would be of great interest. If they do exist, Bantuists would certainly like to know something about them. Of course, this short-coming is not restricted to Rood. Very few Bantu grammars give adequate information on this point. Sometimes the facts may be found, incidentally, in examples cited for another purpose. Often there is no trace. Perhaps linguists have been too impressed with the regularities of the concord system to focus on this—seemingly a set of irregularities. But if so, it is still regrettable. In many (I have no idea how many) Bantu languages class 1a is a very interesting and probably historically significant set of structural patterns. It is just as bad to be blinded to structural points by a grammatical system which is proper to the language, but incomplete, as to one which is imported from another area. Bantu grammar completely summed up in the concord system is a biased grammar. Still, with a sketch as brief as this, perhaps the details could not be given.

Nouns are treated as belonging to eight classes. Each class, except 8, has a singular and a plural. Probably such a treatment is "easiest" for a person merely wanting to learn a single Bantu language. However, I suspect that much of the easiness evaporates as the student gets more deeply into the intricacies of the language he is learning. Certainly a student will wonder about the significance of classes 2 and 3 having identical singulars (Meinhof's 3), or of classes 3 and 7 having the same plural (Meinhof's 10). Moreover, I doubt that many will be learning Ngombe and no other Bantu language.

For anyone learning two or more, there is a definite advantage in a system that will permit them easily to correlate and compare or contrast the systems of the several languages. And of course, for comparative Bantu studies, no other approach seems feasible. Fortunately, Rood does give the Meinhof numbering in his table. But for the Bantuist using the dictionary, there will be endless confusion as he tries to translate from Rood's numbering to that which he must use. For each class, singular or plural, from one to four forms of the prefix are given. Their distribution is not stated. Yet this is something which the dictionary user will find indispensable, since the prefixes are not set off from the stems. Familiar and common Bantu rules seem generally to work, but this is a dangerous procedure. A misstep here might well deny the comparative Bantuist access to the very information which he needs most.

As is common with Bantu grammars, the treatment of the verb seems less satisfactory than that of the noun. Perhaps this is because there is no ready-made scaffolding on which to erect the structure. Certainly Bantu verbs tend to be very much more complex than the nouns. But on the whole, I feel that considering limitations of space, Rood has done remarkably well. He carefully tabulates forms of one "hoogtonige stam" and one "laagtonige stam", something that we often wish for, but seldom find. The irony is that here, there is almost no difference between the two. Only in one tense are the affixes different: "Verleden tijd" **na-báng-á : ná-tònd-ó**. Rood notes this carefully, but he seems to say nothing about the rather interesting vowel harmony which seems to occur in these and many other forms. This is a pity, since it would look like a source of confusion to the non-specialist, and something of great interest to the Bantuist.

It is refreshing to see tone treated as an integral part of the language, marked on all examples and on all lexicon entries except a few loan words. This is a good example that the Belgian linguists have been setting for the rest of us. However, some traces

of the special treatment so often accorded tone do remain. Tones are distinguished as of two kinds: "lexicaal" and "grammatisch". It would not occur to anyone to distinguish two kinds of **m**, one lexical and one grammatical in, say **mōmi** (man), pl. **bāmi**. Why then distinguish two kinds of tone? Incidentally, it is of interest to note that he reports complex tones of three successive levels as "niet zeldzaam". These arise from contraction.

It is somewhat tedious to read in review after review a criticism of alphabetizing under prefixes. And yet it must be said. Not only are the words listed under the prefixes of the singular, but there is no clear indication of the segmentation between prefix and stem. Of course it is usually clear enough, but occasionally there are questions. The tabulation gives **di-sú** (dag) and **d-ia** (voedsel) as examples of the two alternates, **di-** and **d-**, of the prefix of Meinhof's class 5. The vocabulary lists ten other class 5 words beginning **di-**. Only five of these have plurals given, and they include examples with each form. How can we segment the remaining five? Then there are words in the vocabulary which do not match any of the forms given in the list of prefixes: **dadá** (stijheid in ledematen). This is listed as class 5, the prefix of which is listed as having the forms **li-**, **i-**, **di-**, **d-**. Does it have another form, and is this **d-** or zero?

Some 600 of the entries are marked as

restricted to a stated dialect. A number are marked as loan words from LoMungo. The latter are given without tone markings; we are not told why. But loan words from French or other languages are carefully marked: **desigálama** (decigram).

Scanning through the vocabulary, one gets the impression that the commonest type of gloss is the simple "kikvors sp.", "aap sp.", "vogel sp.", etc. It is, of course, a terrible problem to know what to do with words of this sort. The average user of the dictionary is merely frustrated by an endless series of such undifferentiated glosses. Yet to provide scientific binomials is difficult, and for many hardly helpful. But certainly something more is needed than this. The various fish, snakes, and trees, etc. recorded can hardly be synonyms, and very likely differ in ways of significance to everyday use of the language.

There are other points that might be criticized. And yet, when all is said, this remains a work that stands above the usual run of Bantu dictionaries, a work that seems to be carefully and competently done, and one which will be found useful by many people for many purposes. We congratulate the author and look for further work from him on Ngombe.

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